



SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

Healing Gods: The Cult of Apollo Iatros, Asclepius and Hygieia

in the Black Sea Region

Moschakis Konstantinos



*A Dissertation thesis submitted for assessment with a view to obtaining the degree of
Master of Arts (MA) in Black Sea Cultural Studies*

Supervisor: Manolis Manoledakis

September 2013
Thessaloniki – Greece

I hereby declare that the work submitted by me is mine and that where I have made use of another's work, I have attributed the source(s) according to the Regulations set in the Student's Handbook.

September 2013
Thessaloniki – Greece

**Healing Gods: The Cult of Apollo Iatros, Asclepius and Hygieia
in the Black Sea Region**

To my parents, and .

« πᾶς δ' ὀδυνηρὸς βίος ἀνθρώπων
κούκ ἔστι πόνων ἀνάπαυσις»

«The life of man entire is misery
he finds no resting place,
no haven of calamity»

Euripides, *Hippolytos* (189-190)
(transl. D. Greene)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Contents	01
Sources- Abbreviations- Bibliography	...03
Preface	...17
Introduction	..19

PART A

1. The Cult of Apollo Iatros in the North and Western Black Sea: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds.

1.01. Olbia-Berezaní	22
1.02. Panticapaeum (Kerch)	25
1.03. Hermonassaí	26
1.04. Myrmekioní	.27
1.05. Phanagoriaí	..27
1.06. Apollonia Ponticaí27
1.07. Istros (Histria)	29
1.08. Tyrasí30

PART B

1. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Northern Black Sea Region: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds.

1.01. The cities in the Northern Black Sea	..31
1.02. Chersonesusí	31
1.03. Olbiaí	...34
1.04. Panticapaeum (Kerch)	35

2. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Southern Black Sea Region: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds.

2.01. The coast of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and the Pontusí	37
2.02. The Case of Abonuteichos ó Ionopolis (Inebolu)	...38

PART C

Asclepius and Hygieia in Thrace and Lower Moesia

1. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia on the Thracian Coast: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds.

1.01. The Cities on the Thracian Coast	39
1.02. Mesembria (Nesebar)	..39
1.03. Odessos (Varna)40

2. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Thracian Hinterland: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds.

2.01. Philippopolis (Plovdiv) Region	43
2.02. Philippopolis (Plovdiv)	43
2.03. The Sanctuary of Asclepius Zemedrenos at Batkun, Pazardzhik Vicinity (Philippopolis Region)	45
2.04. The Sanctuary of Asclepius Zydenos at Varvara, Pazardzhik Vicinity	49
2.05. Serdica (Sofia) Region, The Sanctuary of Asclepius Koulkoussenos	50
2.06. The <i>Asklepieion</i> of Asclepius Limenos at Slivnitsa	51
2.07. Other Sites in the Serdica Region	52
2.08. Beroia (Stara Zagora) Region	53
2.09. Carasura (Rupkite)	54
2.10. Sliven Region, The Sanctuary of Asclepius at Kabyle	55
2.11. Pautalia Region	55
2.12. The <i>Asklepieion</i> of Asclepius Keiladenos at Pernik	56
2.13. The <i>Asklepieion</i> of Asclepius Pautaliotes-Skalpenos at the city of Pautalia (Kyustendil)	58

3. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Lower Moesia: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds.

3.01. Cities in Lower Moesia	61
3.02. Istros (Histria)	61
3.03. Callatis (Mangalia)	62
3.04. Tomis (Costanta)	62
3.05. Nicopolis ad Istrum	63
3.06. Novae (Svishtov)	63
3.07. The Sanctuary of Asclepius Saldenos at Glava Panega, Lovec Region	65

PART D

1. The Cult of Asclepius and Other Healing Deities in Thrace and Lower Moesia: Researching a Phenomenon

1.01. The Organisation of the <i>Asklepieia</i>	68
1.02. The Thracian Rider	69
1.03. Thracian Tradition: The Case of <i>Zalmoxis</i> and <i>Rhesus</i>	71
1.04. The Syncretism Between Asclepius and the Local Thracian Rider or Hero	73

Conclusions	74
Summary	79
List of Plates	81
List of Maps	84
Plates	85
Maps	107

Sources

Herodotus, *The History*, 4.94
Homer, *Iliad*, A, 35-52, B, 229-732.
Titus Livius (Livy), *The History of Rome*, 4, 25
Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 1.21.4, II. 27. 2, 8. 41. 8
Plato, *Charmides*, 156D-157B.
Philostratus, *Heroicus*, p. 680.
Pliny, *Natural History*, 34. XVIII
Plutarchus, *Pericles*, 13.8.
Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia*, 2.18.
Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.*, 14.
Strabo, *Geography*, II.1.16, 7.3.5, 7.6.1, 14.1.6

Abbreviations - Bibliography

AEMTh:

AJA: American Journal of Archaeology

Alexandrescu- Vianu 2009: Alexandrescu- Vianu Maria, «The treasury of sculptures from Tomis. The cult inventory of a temple», *Dacia*, N.S., tome LIII, Bucharest 2009, pp. 27-46.

Aparaschivei 2010: Aparaschivei Dan, «Being a Physician in Moesia Inferior», The Medical Profession in Lower Moesia, *Dacia*, N.S., tome LIV, Bucharest 2010, pp.141-157.

ASAtene: *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente (Bergamo- Rome).*

Beschi 1967-68: Beschi L., «Il monumento di Telemachos, fondatore dell'Asklepieion ateniese», *ASAtene* 45-46, 1967-1968, pp. 381-436.

Beumer 2011: Beumer Mark, «Hygieia. A New Conceptual Approach», Discussion Paper, Bergen 2011, pp. 1-9.

Boteva 1985: Boteva Dilyana, «Obrochni pametnitsi ot svetilishteto na Asklepii limenos krai slivnitsa, Sofiiski okrug» (Votive Worship and Monuments at the Sanctuary of Asclepius Limenos near Slivnitsa, Sofia region), *Archeologia* 4, Sofia 1985, pp. 31-38.

Boteva 1985a: Boteva Dilyana, «Traskiyskoto svetilishte na Asklepiy Limenos kray Slivnica», *Istoriikoarheologicheski i eetnografski izsledvaniya u Sofijski okrag* (ed. M. Tacheva), Sofijski Universitet «St. Kliment Ohridski, Sofia 1985, pp. 23-36.

Boteva 2005: Boteva Dilyana, «Soldiers and Veterans Dedicating Votive Monuments with a Representation of the Thracian Horseman within the Provinces of Lower Moesia and Thrace», *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau*, (Akten der Regionalen Konferenz Beograd 16-19 Oktober 2003), Beograd 2005, pp.199-210.

Boteva 2007: Boteva Dilyana, «Dedicators with Roman Names and the Indigenous Cult of the Thracian Horseman (a reprint)», *Archaeologia Bulgaria*, XI 3, Sofia 2007, pp. 75-89.

Boteva 2011: Boteva Dilyana, «The Thracian Horseman reconsidered», Early Roman Thrace, New Evidence from Bulgaria (ed. Ian P. Haynes) *JRA Supplementary Series No 82*, Portsmouth- Rhode Island 2011, pp. 84-105.

Burkert 1993: Burkert Walter, *Antike Religion*, (transl. Bezentakos Nik.) Athens 1993.

Calder 1971: Calder William M., «Stratonides Athenaios», *AJA*, Vol. 75, No 3, 1971, pp.325-329.

Chrysostomou 2002: Chrysostomou Paulos, «*Stratonides Athenaios*», *Antike*, Vol. 3, Rethymno 2002, pp. 99- 116.

CIRB: *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani*, (ed. Vasilii Struve) Replaces *IosPE II* and part of *IosPE IV*, Moscow 1965.

Comstock- Vermeule 1971: Comstock M., Vermeule C., *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1971.

Croon 1967: Croon J. H., «Hot Springs and Healing Gods», *Mnemosyne*, Fourth Series, Vol. 20, Fasc. 3, 1967, pp.225-246.

Danov 1937: Danov Christo M., «Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien», *Izvestia na Bulgarski Arheologitseski Institutia*, t. XI, Sofia 1937, pp. 197-202.

Dimitrov 1982: Dimitrov Al., *Razkopke na Basilica No 1 v Kabyle* (Excavations at Basilica No 1 in Kabyle), Vol. 1, Sofia 1982.

Dimitrova 2002: Dimitrova Nora, «Inscriptions and Iconography in the Monuments of the Thracian Rider», *Hesperia* 71, 2002, pp. 209-229.

Djambov 1964: Djambov D., *Musée archéologique de Plovdiv*, Sofia 1964

Dobruski 1907: Dobruski V., «Svetlitse na Asklepii do Glava Panega» (The Sanctuary of Asclepius in Glava Panega), *Arheologiceski Izvestia na Narodni Muzei I*, Sofia 1907, pp. 3-86

Dobruski 1907a: Dobruski V., «Drugi Pаметници по Кulta Asklepii vi Trakii»

(Sanctuaries of Asclepius in Thrace), *Arheologiceski Izvestia na Narodni Muzei 1*, Sofia 1907, pp. 87-98.

Dontcheva 1992: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Sinkretizm t na Asklepii s Trakiiskiia Kheros, Otrazen v Trakiiskite Obrochni Relefi», (Syncretism of Asclepius with Thracian Heros, reflected on the Thracian votive reliefs) *MZF Sv. Pantele mon*," Veliko Tarnovo, 1992, pp. 36-43.

Dontcheva 1994: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Ikonografiska kharakteristika na izobrazheniyata na Asklepii v rkhu trakiiskite obrochni relefi» (Iconographic feature images of Asclepius on Thracian votive reliefs), *Istoriko-arkheologicheski izsledvaniya v Pamet na Prof. Dr Stancho Vaklinov*, Veliko Tarnovo 1994, pp. 323-335.

Dontcheva 1998: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Le culte d'Asclépios à Odessos», *Thracia* 12 (Studia in honorem Christo M. Danov), Serdicae 1998, pp. 181-193.

Dontcheva 1998c: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Svidetelstva za kulta k m Asklepii v Karasura» (Evidence for the cult of Asclepius in Karasura), *Seminarium Thracicum*, 3 (P rvi Akademichni Cheteniya v Pamet na Akademik Gavril Katsarov), Sofia 1998, pp. 147-157.

Dontcheva 1999: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Kult t k m Asklepii v Nikopolis ad Istrum» (The cult of Asclepius at Nicopolis ad Instrum), *Thracia Antiqua* 10 (In memoriam Georgi Mihailov), Sofia 1999, pp. 170-177

Dontcheva 2000: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Le témoignage le plus ancien du culte d'Asclépios dans les terres bulgares», *Thracia*, 13 (Studia in memoriam Velizari Velkov), Serdicae 2000, pp. 73-79.

Dontcheva 2001: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Kult t k m Telesfor i ikonografski osobenosti na izobrazheniyata mu v Trakiya» (The cult of Telesphorus and iconographic features of the images in Thrace), *Seminarium Thracicum* 5 (Vtori Akademichni Cheteniya v Pamet na Akademik Gavril Katsarov) Sofia 2001, pp. 185-199

Dontcheva 2001b: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Epitetite na Asklepii v Trakiya i aspektite na kulta» (Epithets of Asclepius in Thrace and aspects of his worship reflected in them) *Otrazeni v tyakh. ó Paleobalkanistika i starob lgaristika* (Vtori esenni mezhdunarodni cheteniya "Profesor Ivan G l bov") Veliko Tarnovo 2001, pp. 551-565.

Dontcheva 2001d: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Der Kult des Telesphoros und die ikonographischen Besonderheiten seiner Darstellung in Thrakien», *KARASURA, I. UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR DES ALTEN THRAKIEN*, 15 Jahre Ausgrabungen in Karasura, (Internationales Symposium. Cirpan, Bulgarien, 1996), Beirr & Beran- Weissbach 2001, pp. 99-110.

Dontcheva 2002: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Le syncrétisme d'Asclépios avec le Cavalier Thrace», *Kernos*, 15, (Actes du VIII^e colloque du CIERGA: "Religion et rationalité en Grèce ancienne", tenu à Rhodes en mai 2001). Athènes - Liège 2002, pp. 317-324.

Dontcheva 2003: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Kult t k m Asklepii v Kabile» (The cult of Asclepius in Kabyle), *Epokhi*, kn. 3-4, 1998. Universitetsko izdatelstvo ōSv. Sv. Kiril i Metodi ō, Veliko Tarnovo 2003, pp. 215-228.

Dontcheva 2003b: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Inkubatsiyata v kulta k m Asklepii» (Incubation in the cult of Asclepius) *Epokhi*, kn. 1, 2000, Universitetsko izdatelstvo ōSv. Sv. Kiril i Metodi ō, Veliko Tarnovo 2003, pp. 79-90.

Dontcheva 2003c: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Kult t k m Asklepii v antichniya grad pri Sandanski» (The cult of Asclepius in ancient city of Sandanski), *Studia protobulgarica et mediaevalia europensia v chest na prof. Veselin Beshevliev*, Sofia, 2003, pp. 96-100.

Dontcheva 2006: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Epitet t epiphanéstatos v obrochni pametnitsi ot trakiiskite zemi prez rimskata epokha» (Epithet - epiphanestatos in votive monuments of the Thracian lands in the Roman era), *Spartakus, II* (2075 godini ot v zstaniето na Spartak. Trako-rimsko nasledstvo, 2000 godini khristiyanstvo), Veliko Tarnovo 2006, pp. 96-100.

Dontcheva 2007: Dontcheva Ivanka, «Trakiiskoto svetilishte pri Batkun» (The Thracian sanctuary in Batkun), *Societas classica Kulturi i religii na Balkanite, v Sredizemnomoriето i Iztoka II*, Universitet-sko izdatelstvo, Sv. Sv. Kiril i Metodi, Veliko Tarnovo 2007, pp. 167-215.

Dyczek 1997: Dyczek P., «The Valetudinarium at Novae- New Components», *Roman Frontier Studies 1995*, Oxbow Monograph 91, 1997, pp. 199-204.

Dyczek 1999: Dyczek Piotr, «A Sacellum Asculapii in the Valetudinarium at Novae», *Roman Frontier studies XVII/1997*, Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, 1999, pp. 495-500.

Dyczek et al 2001: Dyczek P., Kolendo J., Sarnowski T., *Novae ó 40 lat wykopalisk* (Novae ó 40 Years of Excavations), Warszawa 2001

Dyczek 2005: Dyczek Piotr, «On the Genesis of Roman Legionary Hospitals», *Limes XIX, (Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, Pecs, Hungary, September 2003)*, (ed. Zsolt Visy), University of Pecs 2005, pp. 871-879.

Eliade 1972: Eliade Mircea, «Zalmoxis», *History of Religions* (ed. Mircea Eliade and William R. Trask), Vol. 11, No 3, Chicago 1972. pp. 257-302.

Farnell 1996: Farnell Lewis R., (transl. Eleni Papadopoulou) Athens 1996.

Finogenova 2003: Finogenova Svetlana Ilynitchna, «Hermonassa», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea, Volume 2*, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 1007-1045.

Forsen 1996: Forsen B., *Griechische Gliederweihungen*, Helsinki 1996.

Georgiev 2008: Georgiev Petko, *Rimskite Termini na Odessos*, Slavena 2008.

Getov 2002: Getov Lyudmil, «Pamelnitsi na Asklepii i Hegia ot Kabyle» (Monuments of Asclepius and Hygieia from Kabyle), *Studia Archaeologica, Supplementum II*, Sofia 2002, pp.119- 123.

GIBM IV, 2: *The Collection of Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. 5 Vols. Part IV, Sect. II, Ch. IV-XII (1916), (ed. Frederick Henry Marshall) London 1874-1916.

Gocheva 1995: Gocheva Z., «Das Heiligtum des Thrakischen Reiters bei Glava Panega und die Probleme der Romanisierung von Moesia Inferior», *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 7, Poznan 1995, pp. 141-156.

Gocheva 1996: Gocheva Z., «Organization of Religious Life in Odessos», *Kernos* 9, 1996, pp.121- 127.

Golenko- Shcheglov 1965: Golenko K. V., Shcheglov A. N., «O kul'te Asklepiya v Khersonese Tavricheskom» (The cult of Asclepius in Tauric Chersonesos) *Dacia* 9, 1965, pp. 373-382.

Grigorova 2000: Grigorova V., «Medicaments et thermalisme à Pautalia, Thrace», *Gesnerus, Swiss Journal of the History of Medicine and Sciences*, 57, Basel 2000, pp. 238-249.

Grimm 2008: Grimm G., «Alexander the false prophet and his god Asclepius-Glycon», *Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium*, 1988, pp. 169-181.

Gui 2011: Gui Monica, «Evidence for Medical and Personal Care in the Case of the Roman Army in Dacia», *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XXI, Bucharest 2011, pp. 115- 130.

Hirst 1902: Hirst G. M., «The cults of Olbia I», *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 22, 1902, pp. 245-267

Hirst 1903: Hirst G. M., «The cults of Olbia II», *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. 23, 1903, pp.24-53.

IGBulg I²: Mihailov Georgi, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Vol. 1, 2nd edition, Inscriptiones orae Ponti Euxini, Sofia 1970.

IGBulg II: Mihailov Georgi, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Vol. 2, *Inscriptiones inter Danubium et Haemum repertae*, Sofia 1958.

IGBulg III, 1: Mihailov Georgi, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Vol. 3,1, *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: Territorium Philippopolis*, Sofia 1961.

IGBulg III, 2: Mihailov Georgi, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Vol. 3,2, *Inscriptiones inter Haemum et Rhodopem repertae. Fasciculus prior: Fasciculus posterior: A territorio Philippopolitano usque ad oram Ponticam*, Sofia 1964.

IGBulg IV: Mihailov Georgi, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Vol. 4, *Inscriptiones in territorio Serdicensi et in vallibus Strymonis Nestique repertae*, Sofia 1966.

IGBulg V: Mihailov Georgi, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*, Vol. 5. *Inscriptiones novae, addenda et corrigenda*, Sofia 1997.

IGDOLbia: Dubois Laurent, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d'Olbia du Pont*, *Hautes Études du Monde Gréco-romain*, 22, Geneva 1996.

IK Heraclea Pont.: Jonnes Lloyd, *The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica* (With a *Prosopographia Heracleotica* by Walter Ameling), *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 47, Bonn 1994.

IK Kalchedon: Merkelbach Reinhold, Friedrich Karl Dörner, Sencer ahin, *Die Inschriften von Kalchedon*, *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, 20, Bonn 1980.

IGLNovae: Kolendo Jerzy, Violeta Boffilova, *Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de Novae (Mésie Inférieure)*, Paris 1997.

IosPE I-2: Latyshev Vasilii, *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*, 3 vols. St. Petersburg 1885-1901. Vol. 1, 2nd edn., *Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae*, St. Petersburg 1916

IGX 2 1: *Inscriptiones Graecae, X: Inscriptiones Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae. Pars II, fasc. 1: Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae*, (ed. Charles Edson) Berlin 1972.

Ivanov 1919-1920: Ivanov J., «The Khisarlar ka Kyustendil i antiki» (The Hisarlar Kustendil and antiques), *Byuletin na B lgarskata Arkheologichesko Druzhestvo* 7, Sofia 1919-1920, pp. 66-124.

Ivanov 1992: Ivanov R., «Mramorna statua na Asklepii ot Nikopolis ad Istrum» (Marble statue of Asclepius from Nicopolis ad Istrum), *Arheologia*, 34, Sofia 1992, pp. 30-34.

Jameson 1994: Jameson J., «Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence», *Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult* (1991), Stockholm 1994, pp. 35-57

JRA: Journal of Roman Archaeology

Kacharova 2005: Kacharova Veselka, «Pautalia i nenata teritoria prez I- IV vek» (Pautalia and its territory in the 1st to 6th century), *Bulgarska Akademia na Nauke-Arheoloski Institut s Muzei*, Veliko Tarnovo 2005, pp. 126-130.

Karamitrou- Moschakis 2010: Karamitrou- Montesidi G., Moschakis K., «Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence», *Proceedings of the Second International Seminar on Ancient Greek Cult* (1991), Stockholm 1994, pp. 35-57

Karamitrou- Moschakis 2011: Karamitrou -Montesidi G., Moschakis K., «Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence», Volume to honor of Pr. S. Geroulanos, 2011 (in print)

Karamitrou- Moschakis 2013: Karamitrou- Montesidi G., Moschakis K., «Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence», International Congress: *Medicine in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, September 27-29, 2008 Nicosia, (ed. D. Michaelides) Oxford University Press 2013, pp. 8-23.

Kefalidou- Moschakis 1995: Kefalidou E. - Moschakis K., «Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence», *EMTh 9*, Thessaloniki 1995, pp. 41-46.

Kirova 2002: Kirova Nadejda, «Specialized Medical Instruments from Bulgaria in the Context of Finds from Other Roman Provinces (I-IV c. A. D.)», *Archaeologia Bulgarica*, VI, Sofia 2002, pp.73-94.

Kirova 2010: Kirova Nadejda, *Medicinata v Provincite Dolne Mezia e Trakia (I-Krai na III v.)* (Medicine in the Provinces of Lower Moesia and Thrace, 1st C. AD to the end of 3rd C. AD) Disertacii Tom 3, Nacionalni Arheologieski Institut c Muzei, Bulgarska Akademia na Naukite, Sofia 2010.

Koukouli- Chrysanthaki, Malamidou 1989: Koukouli- Chrysanthaki H., Malamidou D., «Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence», *EMTh 3*, Thessaloniki 1989, pp. 553-560.

Krug 1997: Krug Antje, *Theoxeniaö, Ancient Greek Cult Practice from the Epigraphical Evidence*, (transl. E. Manakidou-Th. Sartzes) Athens 1997.

Kryzhytskyy et al 2003: Kryzhytskyy Sergey Dimitrievich- Krapivina Valentina Vladimirova- Lejpunskaja Nina Alexandrova- Nazarov Vladimir Vladimirovich,

«Olbia- Berezan», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea, Vol. 1*, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 389-505

Künzl 1983: Künzl E., *Medizinische Instrumente aus Sepulkralfunden der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1983.

Lacroix 1948: Lacroix L., *Les Reproductions de statues sur les Monnaies Grecques*, Liege 1949.

Leypunskaya 1994: Leypunskaya N., «Olbia Pontica and the Olbian Muse», *Expedition*, Vol. 36, Nos 2-3, 1994, pp. 7-17.

Liapis 2011: Liapis V., «The Thracian Cult of Rhesus and the Heros Equitans», *Kernos* 24, 2011 pp. 95-104.

Licheli 2007: Licheli Vakhtang, «Hellinism and Ancient Georgia», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea, Vol. 2*, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 1083-1142.

LIMC: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*

LIMC II, Apollon: Palagia O., LIMC II, Apollon, Zürich ó München 1984, pp. 183-327.

LIMC II, Asklepios: Holtzman ., LIMC II, Asklepios, Zürich ó München 1986, 863-897.

LIMC II, Asklepios (in Thracia): Gocheva Zlatozara, *LIMC II, Asklepios (in Thracia)*, Zürich ó München 1986, pp. 897-901.

LIMC V, Hygieia: Croissant F., LIMC V, Hygieia, Zürich ó München 1990, pp. 554-572.

LIMC VII, Telesphoros: Hilde Rühfel, LIMC VII, Telesphoros, Zürich ó München 1994, 870-87

Lioulis 2010: Lioulis S., , main r thesis (unpublished), Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of history and Archaeology, Thessaloniki 2010.

Liubenova 1980: Liubenova V, «Svetilisheto pri Pernik» (The sanctuary near Pernik), *Monumenta Thraciae Antiquae II, Sanctuaria Thracorum*, Sofia 1980, pp.15-27.

Lypourlis 2008: Lypourlis D., , , Thessaloniki 2008.

Marek, Kat. Amastris: Marek Christian, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia*, Istanbul Forschungen 39, Anhang 5, (Katalog der Inschriften von Amastris) Tübingen 1993. pp. 157-187.

Madzarov 2009: Madzarov Mitko, *Rimski putishta v Bulgariia* (Roman Roads in Bulgaria), Faber 2009.

Matkowski 1999: Matkowski T. A., «Kul'tovyye sooruzheniya Pantikapeya», (Religious buildings in Panticapaeum) *Pilgrimy Kryma*, T.1, Simferopol 1999, pp. 30-37.

Matthäus 1989: Matthäus Hartmunt, *Der Arzt in römischer Zeit, Medizinische Instrumente und Arzneien*, Stutgard 1989.

Minchev 2003: Minchev Alexander, «ODESSOS (6th century B. C. to early 1st century A.D.)», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea, Vol. 1*, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 209- 278.

Minns 1913: Minns Ellis Hovell, *Scythian and Greeks: A Survey of Ancient History and Archaeology on the North Coast of the Euxine from the Danube to the Caucasus*, Cambridge University Press 1913.

Mitropoulou 1977: Mitropoulou E., *Deities and Heroes in the form of snake*, Athens 1977.

Mitropoulou 1984: Mitropoulou E., _____, *PhD. thesis*. Athens 1984.

Moschakis 2004: Moschakis K., «
38-39, Journal of the Society of Literature and Arts, Florina 2004, pp. 6-13

Moschakis 2009: Moschakis K., «
», Proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Pan-
Hellenic Society of the History of Medicine,
, (Thessaloniki
2006), Thessaloniki 2009, pp. 23-34.

Mushmov 1912: Mushmov N., *Antichni moneti na Balkanskiya poluostrov i monetite na b lgarskitetsare*, Sofia 1912.

Namoylik 2008: Namoylik A. S., «Posvytilbioye Graffito is Nimfea», *Hyperboreus*, Vol. 4, 2008, pp. 153-161.

Nedev- Panayotova 2003: Nedev Dimitri, Panayotova Kristina, «Apollonia Pontica (end of the 7th -1st centuries B.C.)», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea, Vol. 1*, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 95-155.

- Nigdelis 2006:** Nigdelis P.,
(*IG X 2, 1,480*),
, Thessaloniki 2006.
- Nilsson 1967:** Nilsson M. P., *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I 3, Munich 1967.
- Nutton 1981:** Nutton V., «Continuity or rediscovery? The city physician in classical antiquity and medieval Italy», (ed.W. Russel) *The town and state physician in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 17, 1981, pp. 9-46.
- Nutton 1997:** Nutton V., «Archiatři and the medical profession in Antiquity», *Papers of the British School at Rome XLV*, 1977, pp.191-226.
- Olshausen 1990:** Olshausen Eckart, «Götter, Heroen und Ihre Kulte in Pontos», *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der Neuen Forschungen*, Berlin 1990, pp. 1866-1905.
- Oppermann 2006:** Oppermann Manfred, *Der thrakische Reiter des Ostbalkanraumes im Spannungsfeld von Graecitas, Romanitas und lokalen Traditionen*, Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraums 7, Beier & Beran 2006.
- Oppermann 2007:** Oppermann Manfred, *Thraker, Griechen und Römer*, Mainz am Rhein 2007.
- Pantermann 1986:** Pantermann D., «
»,
, Thessaloniki 1986, pp.10-16
- Pantermann 1988:** Pantermann D., «
1995», *Th 9* (1995),
Thessaloniki 1998, pp.167-172.
- Perinthos-Herakleia:** Sayar, Mustafa Hamdi, *Perinthos-Herakleia (Marmara Ere lisi) und Umgebung. Geschichte, Testimonien, griechische und lateinische Inschriften*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften [DAW], 269. Vienna 1998.
- Petropoulos 2010:** Petropoulos Elias, «Apollo's Cult in The black Sea Area and the Greek Colonists: Some Remarks», *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea*, (ed. Elias K. Petropoulos and Alexander A. Maslennikov), Thessaloniki 2010. pp. 283-293.
- Petrova 2013:** Petrova Aneta, «State in Danger: Ideological Strategies of the West Pontic Poleis in the Face of an External Threat», Exploring the Hospitable sea, proceedings of the international workshop on the black sea in Antiquity Held in Thessaloniki, 21-23 September 2012 (ed. M. Manoledakis) *BAR International Series* 2498, 2013. pp. 119-131.

Petsas 1976: Petsas F., «Some Pictures of Macedonian Riders as Prototypes of the Thracian Rider», *Pulpudeva* 2, pp.192-204.

Preshlenov 2003: Preshlenov Hristo, «Mesambria», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea, Vol. I*, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 157-208.

RA: *Revue Archéologique*

Ridgway 1966: Ridgway B.S., «The two Reliefs from Epidauros», *AJA*, Vol. 70, No. 3, pp. 217-222.

Riethmüller 2005: Riethmüller W.J., *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*, Band 1, Heidelberg 2005.

Riethmüller 2005 : Riethmüller W.J., *Asklepios. Heiligtümer und Kulte*, Band 2, Heidelberg 2005.

Rizakis-Touratsoglou 1999: Rizakis A.- Touratsoglou I., «
», *Ancient Macedonia VI*, Vol. 2, Thessaloniki 1999, pp. 949-965.

Robinson 1906: Robinson David M., *Ancient Sinope*, Chicago 1906.

Rusjaeva 2003: Rusjaeva Anna S., «The Main Development of the Western Temenos of Olbia in the Pontos», *The Cauldron of Ariantas, Studies Presented to A.N. Scegllov on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (ed. Pia Guldager Bilde, Jakob Munk Højte, Vladimir F. Stolba), Aarhus University Press 2003, pp. 93-116.

Rusjaeva 2007: Rusjaeva A. S., «Religion Interactions between Olbia and Scythia», *Proceedings of the British Academy* 142, pp. 93-102.

Rusjaeva 2010: Rusjaeva Anna S., «Sanctuaries in the context of the Cultural and Historical Development of Olbia Pontica», *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea*, (ed. Elias K. Petropoulos and Alexander A. Maslennikov), Thessaloniki 2010, pp. 63-92.

Ruscu 2007: Ruscu Ligia Cristina, «On Nicopolis Ad Istrum and Her Territory», *Historia, Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Bd. 56, H. 2, Stuttgart 2007, pp. 214-229.

Ruzicka 1933: Ruzicka L., *Die Münzen von Pautalia*, Sofia 1933.

Ryzhova: Ryzhova L.A., «Kvo Prosub Intereppretatsi syuzheta relyefnou kompozitsii krasnolakovogo blyuda iz raskopok mogilnika «SOVKHOZ-1000», *Materialy po arkheologii i istorii antichnogo i srednevekovogo Kryma, I*, Simpheropol 2008, pp. 17-24.

Saprykin 2010: Saprykin Sergey, «Male Deities and their cults on the South Black Sea Coast: Hellenistic and Roman Period», *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea* (ed. K. Petropoulos- A. Maslennikov), Thessaloniki 2010, pp. 465-514.

Sarnowski et al 2008: Sarnowski T., Kovalevskaja L., Agnieszka T., «Novae-Castra legionis 2006-2008, Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the University of Warsaw Archaeological Expedition», *Archaeologia* 59, 2008, pp. 153-172.

SEG: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*

Seure 1929: Seure G, «Archéologie thrace», *RA*, XXIX, Paris 1929, pp. 51-83

Shcheglov 1960: Shcheglov A. N., *Skulpturnyye izobrazheniya Asklepiya* (Sculptures of Asclepius), Soobshch, Khersones Muzeya, 1960.

Sherk 1993: Sherk K. Robert, «The Eponymous Officials of Greek Cities IV. The Register Part III: Thrace, Black Sea Area, Asia Minor (Continued)», *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 93, Bonn 1993, pp. 223-272.

Sieglwart 2011: Sieglwart Peters, «Hygieneaspekte im Valetudinarium am der roemischen Rheinfront», *Medizingeschichte in Schlaglichtern: Beiträge des Rheinischen Kreises der Medizinhistoriker* (ed. Dominik Gross-Axel Karenberg-Stephanie Kaiser and Wolfgang Antweiler), Schriften des Rheinischen kreises der Medizinhistoriker, Band 2, Kassel 2011, pp. 15-32.

Simon 2006: Simon Erika, , (transl. Semeli Pinyiatoglou) Thessaloniki 1996.

Sokolov 1984: Sokolov Gleb Ivanovic, *Antique Art on the Northern Black Sea Coast: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Applied Arts*, Leningrad (St. Petersburg) 1974.

Solomonik 1975: Solomonik E., «Neues zum Asklepioskult in Chersonessos», *Klio* 57, 1975, pp.433-442.

Solovyev 1999: Solovyev Sergej L., *Ancient Berezan: the architecture, history and culture of the first Greek colony in the northern Black Sea*, Colloquia Pontica 4, Leiden: Brill 1999.

Solovyev 2006: Solovyev Sergey, «Monetary Circulation and the Political History of Archaic Borysthene», *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*, 12/1-2, Leiden 2006, pp. 63-74.

Stoianova 2010: Stoianova Ludmila, *Panteonut na Odessos: Kultove, Mitove, Misterii*, Slavena 2010.

St. Pont III: Anderson John George Clark, Franz Cumont, Henri Grégoire, *Studia Pontica, III. Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie*. Fasc. 1, Brussels 1910.

Szubert 1990: Szubert W., «Remarks on the Thracian- Roman Asklepieions», *Etudes et Travaux*, 15, 1990, pp. 409-415

Tacheva 1999: «Traskikoto Svetilitse na Asklepii Limenos Krai Grad Slivnitsa (Teritoria na Serdica) I Negovjit Epigrafski Arhiv» (The Thracian sanctuary of Asclepius Limenos near the town Slivnitsa, Serdica territory and epigraphic records), (In memoriam Georgi Mihailov), *Thracia Antiqua* 10, Sofia 1999, pp. 152-170

Tolstikov 2003: Tolstikov Vladimir P., «Panticapaeum, The capital city of the Kingdom of Cimmerian Bosphorus in the Light of New Archaeological Studies», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*, Volume 2, (Ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 707- 758.

Tolstikov 2010: Tolstikov Vladimir P., «The Early Temple of Apollo on the Acropolis at Panticapaeum: Questions of Dating, Typology and the Periods of its Construction», *Ancient Sacral Monuments in the Black Sea*, (ed. E. K. Petropoulos ó Al. A. Maslennikov), Thessaloniki 2010. pp. 334-365.

Tolstoi, Graffiti: Tolstoi Ivan I., *Grecheskie graffiti drevnich gorodov Severnogo Prichernomor'ia*, Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg) 1953.

Topalov 1993: Topalov S., *Formes premonetaires de moyens d'exchange. Les fleches-monnaies coulees d'Apollonie du Pont VII-Ve s.av.n.e.*, Sofia 1993

Topalilov 2012: Topalilov Ivo, *Rimskiiat Filipopol, Vol.1: Topografiia, Gradoustrojstvo i Arkhitektura* (Roman Phillipopolis, Vol.1:Topography, Urbanisation, Architecture) Faber 2012.

Treister- Vinogradov 1993: Treister Michael Y. - Vinogradov Yuri G., «Archaeology on the Northern Coast of the Black Sea», *AJA* 97, No 3, 1993, pp. 521-563

Treister- Zubar 1994: Treister M.Y.- Zubar V.M., «A Gold Medallion Representing Fortuna and Glycon from the Necropolis of Chersonesus», *Ancient Civilizations* 1, 3, Leiden 1994, pp. 334-345.

Treister 2007: Treister Mikhail Y., *Archaic Panticapaeum*, Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Milesische Forschungen Band 5, Mainz am Rhein 2007

Tsontchev 1941, Tsontchev D, *Trakiiskoto svetilishte pri s. Batkun* (Thracian Sanctuary at the Village of Batkun), Sofia 1941.

Tsontchev 1940- 1941, Tsontchev D, «Trakiiskoto svetilishte pri s. Varvara» (Thracian Sanctuary at the village of Varvara), *Godicnik na Plovdivckata Narodna Biblioteka e Muzei*, Sofia 1940-1941, pp. 60-87

Tzafalias 1988: Tzafalias A., : , 8, Trikala 1988, pp. 179-218.

Ulrike 2005: Ulrike Peter, «Religions- Cultural Identity in Thrace and Moesia Inferior», *Coinage and Identity in the Roman provinces* (ed. Christopher Howgego- Volker Heuchert- Andrew Burnett), Oxford 1995, pp. 107-114.

Ustinova 2004: Ustinova Yulia, «Truth Lies at the Bottom of a cave: Apollo Pholeuterios, the Pholarchs of the Eleats, and Subterranean Oracles», *La Parola Del Passato- Rivista Di Studi Antichi*, Vol. LIX, 2004, pp. 25-44.

Ustinova 2004-2005: Ustinova Yulia, «Greek Knowledge of Thracian and Scythian healing Practises and Ideas on Afterlife and Immortality», *Ephemeris Napocensis*, XIV-XV, 2004-2005, pp. 41-52.

Ustinova 2009: Ustinova Yulia, «Apollo Iatros: A Greek God of Pontic Origin», *EIKON*, Beiträge zur antiken Bildersprache, Band 9, Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2009, pp. 245-298.

Ustinova 2009a: Ustinova Yulia, «Cave Experiences and Ancient Greek oracles», Time and Mind: *The Journal of Archaeology, Consciousness and Culture*, Vol. 2- Issue 3, 2009, pp. 265-286.

Van Straten 1981: Van Straten F., «Gifts for the Gods», *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of religious mentality in the ancient world* (ed. H.S. Versnel), Leiden 1981, pp. 65-151.

Veligianni: Veligianni Ch., «
», , 1997 pp. 152-164.

Vinogradov- Rusjaeva 1980: Vinogradov Yu. G., Rusjaeva A. S., «Kult Apollona I kalennidar v Olvii» (The cult of Apollo in Olbia and its calendar), *Isledovaniya po antichnoy arkheologii Severnogo Prichernomorya*, Kiev 1980, pp. 19-64.

Vinogradov et al 2003:. Vinogradov Yuriv Al, Buttyagin Alexandr Mikhaylovitch, Vakhtina Marina Yuryevka, «Myrmekion- Porthmeus, Two small town of Ancient Bosphorus», *Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea*, Volume 2, (ed. D.V. Grammenos- E.K. Petropoulos), Thessaloniki 2003, pp. 803-840.

Wickkiser 2008: Wickkiser Browen L., *Asklepios, Medicine and the Politics of Healing in Fifth Century Greece, Between Craft and Cult*, The Johns Hopkins University Press 2008.

Web Publications

Zubar: Zubar V.M. «Bogi i geroi antichnogo Khersonesa»

<http://www.krimoved-library.ru/books/bogi-i-geroi-antichnogo-hersonesa3.html>

PREFACE

The subject of this Master's thesis is the cult of Apollo Iatros, Asclepius and Hygieia in the Black Sea region. The area and the chronological frame encompassed by this study are particularly broad and the material on which it is based is somewhat uneven, chiefly because of the different directions that archaeological research has taken in the various Black Sea countries. As far as the area is concerned, this work initially covers the Greek coastal cities of the Black Sea and, where required, is extended to include the cities of the hinterland, not all of which were founded by the Greeks. This is obvious in the case of Thrace and Lower Moesia, which occupy a large part of this work, as the manifestations of Asclepius and Hygieia's cult in these areas are considered to be unique. As far as the chronological frame is concerned, the work covers a period extending from the first appearance of the cult of Apollo Iatros in the Northern Black Sea region in the 6th century B.C. until the early 4th century A.D., when the remaining sanctuaries of Asclepius fell into decline and were abandoned.

This work comprises four main chapters. In the first chapter we trace the evidence for the presence of Apollo Iatros in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions. The second chapter records the wide diffusion of Asclepius and Hygieia's cult in the Northern and Southern Black Sea regions, and here it ought to be mentioned that there is only one piece of evidence for the presence of the healing gods on the coasts of the Eastern Black Sea. In the third chapter we deal with the wide diffusion of Asclepius and Hygieia's cult in Thrace (mainly in modern Bulgaria). In this chapter we decided to adopt the Roman administrative divisions of the region of Thrace and Lower Moesia as in the period under examination, the Roman presence is particularly noticeable, even though it was not able to obscure the Greek influence in the region. Because of the special character of Asclepius and Hygieia's cult in Thrace, in the fourth chapter we attempt to describe some of the phenomenon's dimensions and effects and finally its absorption by the local societies.

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Assistant Professor Manolis Manoledakis, for his useful observations and suggestions during the course of this work. The study could not have been completed without the support of the Director of the 30th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Dr. Christina Ziota, to whom I extend my warmest thanks. My colleagues at the Archaeological Museum of Aiani and in the team working on the archaeological excavations at Mavropigi in ancient Eordaia kindly shouldered some of my responsibilities at the Museum and in the field and I am grateful to them, especially Mrs. Katerina Anagnostopoulou. To the Director of the Library of the National Institute of Archaeology and Museum of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Masleva Svetlana,

I am grateful for the assistance she gave me during my research in the library. It ought to be mentioned here that the doctoral thesis (PhD) of Ivanka Dontcheva on the cult of Asclepius in Thrace remains unpublished, and my efforts to locate a copy in the archaeological libraries of Sofia were unsuccessful. Professor Dr Piotr Dyczek of Warsaw University kindly sent me several of his articles and publications relating to his excavations at Novae and, in particular, the *valetudinarium*, such a unique find in the Balkans. I would like to thank the staff at the Archaeological Museum of Sofia for their permission in photographing the reliefs from Glava Panega. It goes without saying that this endeavour would not have borne fruit without the constant support of my friends and family.

Introduction

*I swear by Apollo, the healer, Asclepius, Hygieiaí
Hippocrates, Oath of Hippocrates*

Apollo, the son of Zeus and Leto, appears in the *Iliad* on the side of the Trojans, a fact that cast his Greek origins in doubt. While researchers have proposed Asia Minor or Northern Greece as the birthplace of his cult, considerable evidence of his worship also exists in prehellenic Crete. In addition, we know that Apollo's oracle at Miletus was already in existence when the city was colonised by the Ionians and that Miletus had been originally founded by Cretans¹. However, the god was also known in southern mainland Greece during the Bronze Age. Of particular interest is the theory that the god is attested in Linear B under the name Paion or Paian, which means 'healer'², although in the *Iliad*, in response to the pleas of the priest Chryses, in a fit of anger, he rains down arrows of plague (*nouson kaken*) on the Achaean camp, striking down both animals and men³.

The god's dual nature is evident in the Greeks' conviction that he held sway over both human life and death⁴, while the god himself embodies both the splendour and the inscrutability of the world of the gods. His dual nature is also manifested in the *Iliad*, where the narrative begins with Apollo as a vengeful god and ends by portraying him as the leader of the Muses. Amongst many other epithets, the god was worshipped under that of 'helper'. Pausanias states that the epithet comes from the help he gave during a period of plague and his ability to banish evil⁵. He was also worshipped under the epithet 'healer', from the verb 'to heal', which means 'to heal' and, finally, under the epithet 'banisher of evil or disease'. At Rome, where the god's temple was one of the first to be built in the city, the god arrived during a plague and was worshipped under the epithet *Medicus*⁶. At Didyma in the vicinity of Miletus there existed one of the most important sanctuaries to Apollo, where the god was worshipped together with his sister Artemis. This sanctuary also contained an oracle, which also became very famous. Here Apollo was also worshipped as 'god of healing'⁷.

¹ Simon 1996, p. 127.

² Lypourlis 2008, p. 24.

³ Homer, *Iliad*, A, 35-52.

⁴ Simon 1996, p. 129.

⁵ Pausanias, 8, 41, 8: *Apollo received his name from the help he gave in time of plague, just as the Athenians gave him the name of Averter of Evil for turning the plague away from them.* (Trans. By W.H. S. Jones)

⁶ Livy, 4. 25.

⁷ Strabo 14. 1. 6: *Both Milesians and Delians invoke an Apollo "Ulios," that is, as god of "health and healing," for the verb "ulein" means "to be healthy"; whence the noun "ule" and the salutation, "Both health and great joy to thee"; for Apollo is the god of healing.*

Asclepiusøcult was added as a specialised expression of Apolloø attribute as a healer. Asclepius is mentioned in the *Iliad* as the father of two heroes from Thessalian Tricca who participated in the great campaign against Troy⁸. The godø journey began when his father Apollo saved him, as yet unborn, from the pyre consuming his mother and led him to the centaur Chiron. Asclepius was taught the art of medicine by Chiron and became so proficient that he managed to resurrect Hippolytos. This did not escape the attention of Zeus, who punished Asclepius with death. The name of the god has caused controversy and given rise to different interpretations since as early as antiquity. The word ÆAsclepiusø is synthetic and the second part of the compound is the word *Asclepius*⁹. A possible suggestion for the name is that it comes from the words *Asclepius* and *Asclepius*, so that the name Asclepius means Æhe who can dispel the illness gentlyø¹⁰. The Epidaurians, who claimed the god originated in their city and tried to connect him with their land, maintained that initially the god had been called Hepius (*Hepius*) and became Asclepius when he cured the tyrant of Epidaurus, Askles¹¹.

As regards the question of the godø origins, two places are considered possible birthplaces: Tricca in Thessaly and Epidaurus in the Peloponnese. According to ancient literary sources, Asclepius came from Tricca and the godø Thessalian origin was usually stressed¹². The archaeological excavations at ancient Tricca have so far failed to unearth any early evidence of the godø cult¹³; at Epidaurus, on the other hand, excavations have shown that the god was worshipped from an early period in the area. Asclepius would arrive in Attica and Athens (420-419 B.C.) through Piraeus and Zea, on board a ship from Epidaurus¹⁴.

Hygieia, daughter of Asclepius, played an important role in his cult as the giver of health. In fact, she provided an extension of the characteristics of her father and represented healthy or hygienic living¹⁵. In most cases she was worshipped together with Asclepius, and this is obvious from both the large number of inscriptions with dedications to Asclepius and Hygieia together and also the great number of statues or reliefs in which the two gods are represented together¹⁶. In the most traditional sculptural works, Hygieia is represented at a young age, standing and dressed in a *chiton* and *himation*. A serpent is portrayed climbing up or around her

⁸ 'And they that held Tricca and Ithome of the crags, and Oecchalia, city of Oechalian Eyrutus, these again were led by the two sons of Asclepius, the skilled leeches Podaleirius and Machaon. And with these were ranged thirty hollow ships.' Homer, *Iliad*, B, 729-732.

⁹ Edelstein-Edelstein 1945, p. 80.

¹⁰ Edelstein-Edelstein 1945, p. 81.

¹¹ Edelstein-Edelstein 1945, pp. 80-81.

¹² Homer, *Iliad*, B, 229-732.

¹³ Tzafalias 1988, pp. 179-218.

¹⁴ The cult of Asclepius was instituted in Athens by Telemachus, initially as a private cult but it soon became public; see Beschi 1969, 381-436.

¹⁵ On the problems concerning Hygieia as a personification of health and an extension of Asclepius, see Beumer 2011, pp. 1-9.

¹⁶ The connection that the goddess had with Asclepius did not prevent her from playing her own part in the worship of the healing gods and having an independent function. By way of example, mention may be made of the goddess's appearance in a dream of Pericles, with orders to cure one of his most useful artificers; Plutarch, *Pericles* 13.8.

body and coiling around her left arm towards a phiale that the goddess is holding in her left hand¹⁷.

Apollo's cult was particularly prevalent in the Black Sea region because of the Milesian origin of most of the colonies. The cult of Apollo Iatros had also succeeded in establishing itself in several cities in the Northern Black Sea region, such as Olbia, Panticapaeum, Hermonassa, Myrmekion and Phanagoria, and in the Western Black Sea region in Apollonia Pontica, Istros and Tyras. The cult of Asclepius and Hygieia appeared in the region during the 4th century B.C. and became established in quite a few cities on the shores of the Black Sea, except the eastern littoral, where, perhaps due to the lack of excavations, there is only one indication of the presence of Asclepius' cult¹⁸. In the hinterland of Thrace and Lower Moesia, as this area was called under the Roman occupation, the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia would experience a huge boom after the 1st century A.D, which would last until the early 4th century A.D.

¹⁷ LIMC V, Hygieia, 554-572. For the typology of Hygieia's representations see Mitropoulou 1984.

¹⁸ A clay mould of Asclepius figurine, see Licheli 2007, p. 1086.

PART A

1. The Cult of Apollo Iatros in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions.

Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds. (map 1)

1.01 Olbia- Berezan

The cult of Apollo Iatros was very important and dominant for a long period in Olbia¹⁹. In the Western Temenos (**pl.1a**) which is considered to be the most ancient temenos in Olbia²⁰, a temple of Apollo Iatros²¹ had existed since as early as the second quarter or the middle of the 6th century B.C. Apart from the temple of Apollo Iatros, archaeological finds show that there were also other sanctuaries of Aphrodite, the Dioskouroi and various anonymous deities enclosed within the Western Temenos²². The first temple of Apollo Iatros, which was probably built in about the third quarter of the 6th century B. C. did not last long as it was constructed of cheap materials²³.

For a few decades the cult of Apollo Iatros was the dominant cult in the city, but a second temple of the same god, under the name Apollo Delphinios, was established in another temenos known as the Eastern or Central Temenos and the cult of Apollo Delphinios gradually replaced that of Apollo Iatros as the city's dominant cult. Some authors maintain that there is a connection between the increasing number of offerings during the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. and the arrival of a new group of colonists after the Persian conquest of Ionia²⁴. These *epoikoi* may well have established the cult of the city's new protector. The Central Temenos with the cult of Apollo Delphinios was constructed in the third to fourth quarters of the sixth century B.C. close to the Western Temenos but in a dominant position in the city's administrative and commercial centre.

The Temple of Apollo Iatros

The small temple of Apollo Iatros was replaced by another stone temple²⁵ at the end of the sixth century B.C. Rusjaeva attempts to explain the simultaneous existence of two dominant cults of Apollo by stressing the social and ideological

¹⁹ For Olbia in general see Kryzhytskyy et al 2003, pp. 389- 505.

²⁰ Rusjaeva 2010, p. 69.

²¹ Rusjaeva considers Apollo Iatros as the city's main divine protector; see Rusjaeva 2003: p. 96.

²² Rusjaeva 2010, p. 69.

²³ Rusjaeva 2010, p. 69. In another article the same author maintains that there were only rough wooden structures for ritual purposes at the temple of Apollo Iatros, during the first period of Greek settlement at Olbia. The excavations have revealed the probable existence of wooden altars and a small number of votive gifts which are generally considered to be "primitive"; see Rusjaeva 2003, p. 95.

²⁴ Rusjaeva 2003, p. 96.

²⁵ Kryzhytskyy et al 2003, p. 399.

opposition between *apoikoi* and *epoikoi*. She believes that the first *apoikoi* were mostly aristocrats and landowners who tried to keep the cult of Apollo Iatros²⁶. The new temple of Apollo Iatros was an in antis or prostyle structure built in the Ionian order²⁷. Its main façade was approx. 7.30 m. wide. A large part of its decoration was found in pits (*bothroi*) that were dated to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The decoration included a unique group of painted Ionic architectural terracottas from the Archaic period. Other finds include acroteria from the pediment of the temple, fragments of simas, calypters, antefixes, fragments of capitals and Ionic bases²⁸. A graffito on a tile preserves the name of the temple as it was known to the citizens of Olbia, Ἰητροόν, -ietroon²⁹.

In the late Classical period the sanctuaries of the Western Temenos continued to function, with the cult of Apollo the healer continuing to coexist with other cults, such as those of the Mother of the Gods, Aphrodite, Hermes and the Dioskouroi³⁰, although there was a decrease in the number of offerings³¹. This continuing decrease seems to be also connected with other new changes in the social life of Olbia, such as the establishment of a democratic system of government, which may have given greater impetus to the spread of the cult of Apollo Delphinios and Zeus³².

Inscriptions from Olbia- Berezan

On Berezan Island³³ some of the earliest inscriptions in the Olbia region have been found, dating from the early-mid. 6th c. B.C. The earliest³⁴ of them may be on a pottery fragment and is dated to c. 600-575 B.C.: [Ἀπ]όλλωνι Ἰητροῶι. Another similar inscription³⁵ is dated to the last quarter of the 6th c. B. C.: [Ἀπ]όλλωνος(?) Ἰητρο εἰμί. From the same period (550-525 B.C.) is another inscription³⁶ in a serpentine script on a plaque amulet of bone: Βορυσθένεός/ἐμι, [Βορυσ]θέν-/εος [μεδέων(?)] /Ἰητροός. Later, to the turn of the 6th and 5th c. B.C. is dated a graffito³⁷ on a fragment of the lip of a black-glazed cup: [Ἰητ]ροῶι.

There is a very interesting graffito on a bone plaque, dated to the third quarter of the 6th c. B.C., which combines the symbolism of the number seven and its multiples with epithets and symbols of Apollo³⁸:

²⁶ Rusjaeva 2003, p. 99.

²⁷ Treister-Vinogradov 1993, p. 536, fig.7. For a schematic reconstruction of the temple see Kryzhytskyy et al 2003, p. 490, fig. 3.

²⁸ Kryzhytskyy et al 2003, p. 428.

²⁹ *IGDOlbia*: 59.

³⁰ Rusjaeva 2010, p. 69; from the older bibliography see Hirst 1902, pp. 245-267 and Hirst 1903, pp. 24-53.

³¹ Rusjaeva 2003, p. 107.

³² Rusjaeva 2003, p. 107.

³³ For the archaeological research in Berezan see Solovyev 1999.

³⁴ *IGDOlbia*: 54.

³⁵ *IGDOlbia*: 55.

³⁶ *SEG* 36: 693.

³⁷ *SEG* 32: 737.

³⁸ Petropoulos 2010, p. 287; Ustinova 2009, p. 250.

ἑπτά· λύκος ἀσθενής, ἑβδομήκοντα· λέων δεινός, ἑπτακόσιοι· τοξοφόρος φίλιος δωρεὴ
δυνάμι' ἡγήτορος, ἑπτακισχίλιος· δελφίς φρόνιμος εἰρήνη Ὀλβίη πόλι, μακαρίζω ἑκεῖ,
μέμνημαι Λητοῦ (Petropoulos 2010, p. 287)

Ustinova supports the suggestion by Burkert, who interprets this text as a reference to the Didymaeon oracle, based on the concept of the 'Great Year' and its periods: 7, the first seven years of its existence, when the colony was 'a wolf without strength', 70, the next seventy years, when it became a 'frightful lion' and 700: after the initial period, the god, who carries a bow and wields the power of a healer, stands for 700 years by the side of Olbia, which is in fact sanctioning the cult of Apollo Iatros³⁹. Petropoulos also accepts Vinogradov's view that this is an important document containing information about the establishment of the settlements founded in the estuary of the Hypanis and Borysthenes Rivers⁴⁰. Especially the last two stages (700 and 7000) are of great significance as it seems that an event that occurred in this place during the third stage was brought about by the power of Apollo the Healer. Perhaps in this period or the first half of the 6th c. B.C. or the two settlements of Berezan and Olbia were unified in a single city under the name Borysthenes. The erection of a temple dedicated to Apollo Iatros served as a seal of approval on this political decision⁴¹.

In Olbia there is epigraphic evidence of the temple of Apollo Iatros from the mid-6th c. B.C. on a fragment of an architectural terracotta⁴² dated to the second half of the 6th c. B.C.: [Α]πόλλωνι Ἡγητῶι Βορυσθένης[ος μεδέοντι], and another one⁴³ dated to the last quarter of the 6th c. B.C.: Ἡγητόον.

The existence of the two Apollo cults together in Olbia, already in the late 6th to early 5th century B.C., is shown by a graffito on a red-figure cylix, found in a Scythian tumulus near the village of Zhukovka⁴⁴: Δελφινίῳ ξυνὴ Ἡγητο. Also, from the mid-5th century there is a fragmentary black-glazed skyphos with a graffito on the underside, which bears a dedication to Apollo Delphinios and Apollo Iatros and also a calendar of the city of Olbia⁴⁵. (pl.1b)

From the 5th century B.C. we have the first lapidary inscriptions mentioning Apollo Iatros, such as the one on a round tripod base of white marble, dated ca. 475-450 B.C. The inscription⁴⁶ concerns a dedication made by Xanthos, a citizen of Olbia, to Apollo, addressed as the Lord of Histria.

On a fragment of a grey marble plaque⁴⁷, which is dated to the 4th c. B.C., Apollonios, a citizen of Keos or Olbia, dedicates a statue to Apollo Ietros.

On the monumental base of a white marble statue, which has been engraved with two inscriptions, one inscription⁴⁸, dated to the second half of the 4th c. B.C., with a

³⁹ Ustinova 2009, p. 251.

⁴⁰ Petropoulos 2010, p. 287.

⁴¹ Petropoulos 2010, p. 287.

⁴² IGDOlbia: 57.

⁴³ IGDOlbia: 59.

⁴⁴ IGDOlbia: 65; the graffito was found at Zhukovka near Kiev but was probably brought from Olbia; see Rusjaeva 2007, p. 99.

⁴⁵ IGDOlbia: 99, dated between 475 and 425 B.C.

⁴⁶ IGDOlbia: 58, SEG 50: 701: Ξάνθος Πό[σιος] / Απόλλωνι Ἡγητ[ῶι] / Ἰστορο μεδέοντι] Ὀλβιοπολίτης.

⁴⁷ SEG 42: 712 (2) and IosPE I 2: 164; the inscription has been published three times, each version with a different description and attempted restoration. In the first publication it was dated to 475-450 B.C.; see SEG 28: 567.

dedication to Apollo Ietros from Leokrates, and another one bearing the signature of the Athenian sculptor Stratonides⁴⁹, who carved the sculpture. Ustinova, probably by measuring the traces on the base, believes that this statue of Apollo was slightly higher than the Histrian statue dedicated to Apollo Ietros⁵⁰.

Λεωκρά[της — — — — —]ου
 Απόλλων[ι] Ἰητρο[ῶι].
vacat
 Στρατωνίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐπόησε.

Coinage: The arrow-shaped coins that have been found on Berezan Island, which date from as early as the second half of the 6th century B.C. and were also in use at Olbia, Apollonia, Odessos, Tomis, Histria, Kerkinitis and Bosporus, are believed to be connected with the cult of Apollo Ietros⁵¹.

Cimmerian Bosporus

1.02 Panticapaeum (Kerch)

The cult of Apollo Ietros was the dominant cult in Panticapaeum among the other cults that existed there. There seems to have been a sanctuary of the god on the acropolis already in the Archaic period⁵². Among the earliest buildings on the western plateau of the acropolis of Panticapaeum, in the last quarter of the 6th century B.C., there was a circular building with a diameter of 11m., which is considered to be the earliest *tholos* in the Northern Black Sea region and had a ritual use as a temple⁵³.

The Temple of Apollo Ietros

According to the published report of the excavations, the Temple of Apollo Ietros was constructed between 460-450 B.C on the upper plateau of the acropolis, taking the form of an Ionic peripteral temple⁵⁴. **(pl.2a)** After a new examination of the Temple's architectural remains, Tolstikov comes to the conclusion that the temple was constructed earlier, between the last decade of the 6th century B.C. and the first decade of the 5th century B.C. As has been shown by the excavations, between 510 and 485 B.C., several monumental buildings were erected around the *tholos* on Mt. Mithridates⁵⁵.

Inscriptions: There are three inscriptions found at Panticapaeum dating from the early 4th c. B.C to the mid-3rd c. B.C. The earliest one is a dedication by Stratokles,

⁴⁸ I. Olbia: 65A. We have a description by William M. Calder: 'The stone was a chance find. Monumental white marble statue base with traces of bronze in the cuttings on the top. Dimensions are cm 98 broad 80 thick and 32 high'; see Calder 1971, p.325.

⁴⁹ Stratonides is also known from another Athenian inscription that was found on the south slope of the acropolis at the Asklepieion in Athens. His signature was on a dedication by Kichesippos to Asclepius; see Calder 1971, 325-329, and also Wickkiser 2008, p. 50.

⁵⁰ Ustinova 2009, p. 249.

⁵¹ Solovyev 2006, pp. 63-74.

⁵² Petropoulos 2010, p. 288.

⁵³ Treister 2007, p. 569. There is also the opinion that the *tholos* may have been used as a *prytaneion*, as part of an administrative centre.

⁵⁴ For Panticapaeum in general see Tolstikov 2003, pp. 707-758.

⁵⁵ For the new chronologies see Tolstikov 2010, pp. 334-365.

son of Deinokrates. Deinokrates was a priest at the Temple of Apollo during the reign of Leukon I, the Spartocid king of Cimmerian Bosphorus from 389-349 B.C., who is described as the *Ἀρχων* of Bosphorus⁵⁶. The next inscription is a dedication to Apollo Iatros by the priest Satyrion during the reign of Pairisades I of the Spartocid dynasty, who is also referred to as *Ἀρχων* of Bosphorus⁵⁷. The last inscription⁵⁸ dates from the reign of Pairisades II, between 284 and 245 B.C.

1.03 Hermonassa

At Hermonassa the cult of Apollo Iatros is known only from a number of inscriptions as the temple has not been found. The inscriptions were found in the vicinity of the former Turkish fortress, probably on reused material⁵⁹. In the first inscription, which is on a statue base⁶⁰, Demophon, son of Erginos or Aigios(?) makes a dedication to Apollo Iatros for his wife Akia or Akis. The inscription also refers to Leukon I (389-349 B.C.), as the *Ἀρχων* of Bosphorus and Theodosia and the king of the Sindoi, the Toretoi, the Dandarians and the Psessoï. It is dated to between 389-348 B.C.

Δημοφῶν Ἐργίνο ἀνέθηκεν ὑπὲρ τῆς γυναικὸς
Ἀκίος Ἀπόλλωνι Ἱητρῶι ἄρχοντος Λεύκωνος
Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος
Σίνδων καὶ Τορετῶν καὶ Δανδαρίων καὶ Ψησῶν.

The second inscription⁶¹ is dated to between 150-125 B.C. (?), during the reign of Pairisades IV (150-125 B.C.) and concerns the dedication of a statue to the temple by the priest Kallon.

⁵⁶ *CIRB*: 6, *IosPE* II: 6.

Στρατοκλῆς ὑπὲρ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ
Δεινοστράτο ἱερησαμένου Ἀπόλλωνι Ἱητρῶι
ἀνέθηκεν Λεύκωνος ἄρχοντος Βοσπόρου
καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος Σίνδων,
Τορετέων, Δανδαρίων, Ψησῶν.

⁵⁷ *CIRB*: 10, *IosPE* II: 10, dated from 349 to 310 B.C.:

[Σ]ατυρίων Παταίκου ἱερησάμενος
[ἀ]νέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἱητρῶι
[ἄ]ρχοντος Παιρισάδεος Βοσπόρου
[καὶ] Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος
[Σίν]δων καὶ Μαϊτῶν πάντων.

⁵⁸ *CIRB*: 25, *IosPE* II: 15:

Λεύκων Παιρισάδου ἀνέθηκε τὸν ἀνδριάντα Ἀπόλλωνι
[Ἱ]ητρῶι ἱερησάμενος, ἄρχοντος Παιρισάδου τοῦ Σπαρ-
τόκου Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίης καὶ βασιλεύοντος
Σίνδων καὶ Μαϊτῶν πάντων καὶ Θατέων.

⁵⁹ For Hermonassa in general see Finogenova 2003, pp. 1007-1045.

⁶⁰ *CIRB*: 1037.

⁶¹ *CIRB*: 1044:

[βα]σιλεύοντος Παιρισάδου
[τοῦ Π]αιρισάδου Κάλλων Κάλλωνος
[ἱερ]ησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν τὸν
[ἀνδ]ριάντα Ἀπόλλωνι Ἱητρῶι.

1.04 Myrmekion

At Myrmekion⁶² no evidence has been found in the excavations of the existence of a temple to Apollo Iatros, although there is a graffito⁶³ on an Attic black-glazed cylix with a dedication to Apollo Iatros, dating from *ca.* 500-465 B.C.: [ό
δεῖνα (ἀνέθηκεν) {Ἀπόλλωνι} Ἰητρ[ῶι

1.05 Phanagoria

Only one inscription found at Phanagoria, dating from between 304-283 B.C., mentions Apollo Iatros. In the inscription⁶⁴ Theophilos, son of Sanchos, who was probably a priest of Apollo, dedicates a statue (?) to Apollo Iatros during the reign of Spartokos.

West coast of the Black Sea

1.06 Apollonia Pontica

The Temple of Apollo Iatros on St Cyricus Island

Regardless of where the first *apoikia* of Apollonia was established⁶⁵, modern research accepts that a sanctuary of Apollo Iatros already existed in the early settlement and there is obviously a connection between the name of the city and the patron deity⁶⁶. Now the most accepted view is that the temple of Apollo Iatros was on the central part of St Cyricus Island, where a basilica has been excavated⁶⁷. The temple of Apollo was mentioned by ancient writers, such as Strabo and Appian, mainly because the statue of Apollo, created by the Athenian sculptor Kalamis, was colossal in size and made of bronze. Plinius the Elder gives more details about the size and its construction costs⁶⁸.

⁶² For Myrmekion in general see Vinogradov et al 2003, pp. 803-840.

⁶³ SEG 48: 1006,1.

⁶⁴ CIRB: 974, IosPE II : 348.

[Θ]εόφιλο[ς] Σάνχου ἱερησάμενος

ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰατρῶι,

ἄρχοντος καὶ βασιλεύοντος

Σπαρτόκου τοῦ Εὐμήλου.

⁶⁵ Strabo refers to the island as the main part of the city; Strabo 7.6.1: *'The greater part of Apollonia was founded on a certain isle, where there is a temple of Apollo, from which Marcus Lucullus carried off the colossal statue of Apollo, a work of Calamis.'*

⁶⁶ Nedev-Panayotova: 2003, p. 97.

⁶⁷ Nedev-Panayotova, 2003, p. 97. There is also the view that the temple was situated on the Sozopol peninsula.

⁶⁸ Pliny, *Natural History*, 34, XVIII: *'Of boldness of design the examples are innumerable. We see enormously huge statues devised, what are called Colossi, as large as towers. Such is the Apollo on the Capitol, brought over by Marcus Lucullus from Apollonia, a city of Pontus, 45 ft. high, which cost 500 talents to make.'*

Inscriptions: The inscriptions from Apollonia date from the first half of the 2nd century B.C. and later. The earliest, dating from between 200-150 B.C., is an honorary decree referring to Hegesagoras, son of Monimos, who was the admiral of a fleet sent by the Istrians to help defend the castle of Anchialos against a siege by the Mesembrians. Hegesagoras succeeded in his mission and distinguished himself by his bravery. The *boule* and *demos* of Apollonia, among others, decided to crown him with a gold wreath and make a bronze statue of him that was to be erected in the Temple of Apollo, with a decree written on its base⁶⁹.

One inscription⁷⁰, which dates from the 1st-2nd c. A.D., refers to Metokos, who helped to rebuild the city and repair Apollo's temple, apparently after the city had been struck by a disaster of some kind. The second inscription⁷¹ is a dedication to Apollo Iatros by Rhometalkes II and Pythodoris I, which also mentions the king of East Thrace and an ally of the Emperor Augustus, Cotys (19-38 A.D.) and his father, King Rhometalkes I. There is also an inscription⁷² bearing the words: [ἀνέθη]κα / Ἀπόλλωνι / Ἰητρ[ῶ], but it is not datable.

Coinage: Apollo Iatros appears on the coinage of the 2nd c. B.C. On the obverse of a tetradrachm there is a laureate head of the god and on the reverse Apollo is depicted naked, holding a bow and arrows in his left hand and a long laurel branch, in which a bird is perched, in his right. On the right-hand side is the word and on the left the word⁷³. (pl.2b)

⁶⁹ *ISCM I*: 64.

⁷⁰ *IGBulg I*²: 400:

Μητοκος Ταρουλου φύσι δὲ
Δέκμου κτίσας τὴν πόλιν
μετὰ τὴν ἐκπτώσιν καὶ ἐ-
πισκευάσας τὸ τρίπυλον
καὶ τὴν βᾶριν Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰητρ[ῶ].

⁷¹ *IGBulg I*²: 399:

[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι Ἰητρ[ῶι]
[ὑπὲρ τῆ]ς Ροιμ[η]-
[ταλκου] βασι[λέ]-
[ως Κοτ]υος κα[ι]
5 [βασιλ]έως Ρο[ι]-
[μητα]λκου υἱ[ω]-
[νοῦ κ]αὶ Πυθο[δω]-
[ρίδος β]ασιλέω[ς]
[Ροιμητ]αλκου,
10 [βασιλέ]ως Πολ[έ]-
[μωνος δ]ὲ θυγατ[ρι]-
[δης ὑγ]ίας καὶ σ[ω]-
[τηρία]ς εὐξάμ[ε]-
[νος Λ]οῦκιο

15[... Ζ]ήνων.

⁷² *IGBulg I*²: 403.

⁷³ Lacroix 1949, p. 248 also Topalov 1993, no 98 and Oppermann 2007, p. 33.

1.07 Istros (Histria)

Although no architectural remains of a temple to Apollo have been found in the city of Istros, there are many inscriptions confirming the existence of Apollo's cult in the city, with the god bearing the epithet Iatros.

Inscriptions: At Histria the bulk of the epigraphic evidence for the cult of Apollo Iatros dates from between the 4th and 3rd c. B.C. The first inscription⁷⁴ (**pl.3a**) is on a statue base dedicated to Apollo Iatros by Theoxenos and bears the name of the priest Hippolochos, son of Theodotos. An inscription on an architrave⁷⁵ includes a dedication to Apollo Iatros by the brothers Xenokles and Theoxenos during the eponymous priesthood of their father Hippolochos. According to one hypothesis, the two brothers donated an imposing monument as a temple, and two temples of Apollo co-existed in the city of Istros⁷⁶. From the 4th or early 3rd c. B.C. also date two inscriptions⁷⁷ mentioning Apollo Iatros: [Ἀπόλλωνι] [Ἰη]τρῶι.

In the middle of the 3rd c. B.C. the temple of Apollo Iatros is mentioned in an honorary decree⁷⁸ for the benefactor of the city Diogenes, son of Diogenes. In the mid-1st c. B. C. the temple is mentioned in an honorary decree⁷⁹ for another benefactor, Aristagoras, son of Apatourios, who, at great personal effort and without remuneration, undertook the reconstruction of the city walls. The last inscription⁸⁰ is from a decree, dated to the 2nd c. B.C., that had to be set up in the sanctuary of Apollo Iatros and in the most prominent place beside the altar⁸¹.

⁷⁴ *IScM I*: 169 (400-350 B.C.).

[Θε]όξενος Ἱππολόχο Ἀπόλλωνι
Ἰητρῶι ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ Ἱππολόχο
το Θεοδότο ἱέρεω.

⁷⁵ *IScM I*: 144 (4th c. B.C.):

Ἱππολόχου παῖδες [τ]οῦ Ἥγησαγόρε[ω]
Ξενοκλῆς Θεόξεν[ο]ς Ἀπόλλωνι [Ἰητρῶι]
ἐπὶ ἱέρεω Ἥγησαγ[ό]ρεω τοῦ Θεοδ[ό]του.

⁷⁶ Ustinova 2009, p. 248.

⁷⁷ *IScM I*: 314A and *IScM I*: 104.

⁷⁸ *IScM I*: 1, *SEG* 56: 933 (1).

⁷⁹ *IScM I*: 54.

⁸⁰ *IScM I* 34; Ustinova dates it to the 3rd c. A.D.; Ustinova 2009, p. 248.

⁸¹ Inscription:

θαι καθὼς οἱ [— — — — — οἱ ἐπ]-
ιστάται ἐγγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς τελαμόνας λευκοῦ]
λίθου καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἓνα μὲν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι Ἀπόλλω]-
νος τοῦ Ἰατροῦ, [ἐν ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ παρὰ τὸν βωμόν]
τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, [ἐν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρας δύο]-
ο οἵτινες ἐπιμελη[θήσονται τῆς ἀναγραφῆς καὶ τῆς ἀνα]-
θέσεως τῶν τελ[αμόνων· τὸ δὲ εἰς ταῦτα ἐσόμενον]
ἀνάλωμα ὑποτε[λείν — — — — — τὸν οἶκο]-
νόμον· ἡρέθησαν Α[— — — — —]

At Histria excavations have also unearthed a marble stele of the 3rd century B.C. bearing a dedication to Apollo⁸². Ustinova, who has studied it, believes that there was a *manteion* (oracle) in the area or even a *iatromanteion*⁸³.

1.08 Tyras

From the city of Tyras we have only one inscription, on a marble vase⁸⁴: Ἀπόλλωνι
ἱερῶι.

⁸² *ISCM I*: 105.

⁸³ Ustinova 2004, pp. 25-44.

⁸⁴ Ustinova 2009, p. 259.

PART B

1. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Northern Black Sea Region:

Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds (map 2)

1. 01. The Cities in the Northern Black Sea. In the Greek cities of the northern Black Sea region the cult of Asclepius can be traced back to quite an early date, as there are finds from the 4th c. B.C. The most important centres of the cult were probably **Chersonesus**, **Olbia** and **Panticapaeum**; at least, the most important finds connected with the cult come from these cities. From **Kerkinitis** there is a graffito on the upper section of a black-glazed kantharos⁸⁵: *Υγίειας*. It dates from 300-250 B.C. At **Myrmekion** an inscription has been found on another fragment of an Attic black-glazed kantharos⁸⁶. It bears the name of Hygieia: *ΑΣ [Υγίει]ας*, and this fragment dates from 300-230 B.C. A graffito (**pl.3b**) on a fragment of Hellenistic black-glazed kantharos of *baggy* type has been found in **Nymphaeum** with the inscription ; Namoylik⁸⁷, who published it, completes it with the word . From **Phanagoria** there is an inscription⁸⁸ on a grey marble fragment which refers to Asclepius. It is a manumission record from the reign of Tiberius Julius Sauromates I and is dated to the late 1st to mid-2nd A.D. From **Tyras** there is a Latin inscription⁸⁹ with a dedication to Asclepius and Hygieia by the physicians of the Roman garrison⁹⁰. At **Achillis Vicus** an inscription⁹¹ has been found which refers to Apollodorus, son of Asclepius, and dates from the 2nd c. A.D.: *Ἀπολλόδω[ρε] / υἱὲ Ἀσκ[λη]πιο[ῦ] / χαῖρε*.

1.02. Chersonesus

There are several finds from Chersonesus connected with the cult of Asclepius which provide strong evidence that the healing god was widely accepted in the city. The earliest evidence comes from a graffito⁹² (**pl.4a**) on a sherd from the body of a

⁸⁵ SEG 37: 663.

⁸⁶ SEG 37: 666, 13c.

⁸⁷ Namoylik 2010, pp. 153-161.

⁸⁸ SEG 43: 511:

[βασιλεύοντος βασιλέως] Τιβερίου
[Ιουλίου Σαυρομάτου φι]λοκαίσα-
[ρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου, εὖ]σεβοῦς,
[ἔτους . . τ', μηνὸς Ἀπε]λλαίου η'
[— — — — — Ἀσκλ]ηπιο[ῦ(?)]
[— — — — —]

⁸⁹ Treister-Vinogradov 1993, pp. 521- 563.

⁹⁰ For the medical care in the Roman army see, Gui 2011, pp. 115-130.

⁹¹ CIRB: 1029.

⁹² Solomonik 1975, p. 439, also Namoylik 2010, p. 156 and Golenko –Shcheglov 1978

vessel: . The dating⁹³ of this fragment from the 4th to the 3rd c. B.C. gives us what may well be one of the earliest indications of the cult of Asclepius not only on the north coast of the Black Sea but probably in the whole of the Black Sea coastal region. Furthermore, some finds indicate the development of a rational and scientific form of medicine in the city, which may well have existed alongside traditional forms of medicine.

A decree⁹⁴ concerning the conferral of citizenship on the basis of proxeny, dated to the early 2nd c. A.D, records the decision to have the decree inscribed on a white stone and placed in the Sanctuary of Asclepius.

[μέτεστι· τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦ]-
[το ἄ]ναγραφήμεν λευ[κολίθου στάλαι καὶ θέμεν ἐν τῷ ἱε]-
[ρῶι] τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

Another inscription that has been found in the city and completed by Solomonik refers Asclepius and Hygieia⁹⁵. Last inscription is on the base of a phiale: , dated in the 1st c. A. D.

Statues: These consist of a partially preserved statue of Asclepius, a bronze statuette of the healing god⁹⁶ and also a statue of Hygieia⁹⁷.

Various finds: Of significant interest are a number of stone eggs⁹⁸ which research has shown were connected with the cult of Asclepius, as during Roman times, Asclepius is sometimes represented holding an egg⁹⁹.

Another important find consists in the clay images of human parts that have been found in Chersonesus¹⁰⁰. These finds include images of arms, legs, female breasts, eyes and ears. These offerings, usually called ‘anatomical’ are found at Asclepius sanctuaries, as well as in those of other gods. They are interpreted as an invocation or plea to the god for healing or as a thank-offering for the cure of a certain part of the body¹⁰¹.

The finds connected with the healing gods and their cult are supplemented by a Roman relief plate with a representation of Asclepius. On this vessel, which was found during the excavation of a plot in the vicinity of ancient Chersonesus, the god is portrayed standing, holding his rod¹⁰². Finally, also worthy of mention is a gold medallion with a representation of the snake Glycon¹⁰³.

Coinage: At Chersonesus, healing gods appear on the coinage of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. A coin (pl.4b) from the city dated to between 212-222 A.D. bears a depiction of Asclepius and the word C on the obverse, while the reverse bears a depiction of Hygieia feeding a snake with a *phiale* and the word C C¹⁰⁴.

⁹³ Namoylik 2010, p. 156

⁹⁴ *IosPE* I-2: 376.

⁹⁵ Solomonik 1975, pp. 433-435.

⁹⁶ Solomonik 1975, p. 433; see also Golenko –Shcheglov 1965, p. 374; Namoylik 2010, p. 156.

⁹⁷ Solomonik 1975, p. 434.

⁹⁸ Solomonik 1975, p. 438.

⁹⁹ For Asclepius represented holding an egg, see Karamitrou- Moschakis 2013, p. 13.

¹⁰⁰ Solomonik 1975, p. 436.

¹⁰¹ Van Straten 1981, pp. 65-151 and also Forsen 1996.

¹⁰² Ryzhova 2008, p. 18, pl. 1.

¹⁰³ Treister-Zubar 1994, pp. 334-345.

¹⁰⁴ Minns 1913, p. 676, pl. IV, no. 29.

The development of rational and scientific medicine in Chersonesus

Two marble grave stelai provide important evidence of the development of medicine in Chersonesus during the Hellenistic period, possibly at the same time as Asclepius cult was spreading and developing. The first of these is a limestone slab with an upper moulding which, at the centre, bears a painted representation of two naked men standing opposite each other, with the one on the left touching the other's head¹⁰⁵ (pl.5a). Above the two men there is a representation of three medical instruments. The instrument in the centre is a cupping vessel (Greek: *kyathos*, Latin *curcurbitula*); this vessel, which was used for the extraction of blood, is often depicted on physicians' grave stelai dating from a long period of time stretching from the Classical era to Roman times¹⁰⁶. On the right-hand side there is a pair of forceps, an instrument used to place stitches¹⁰⁷, and on the left a pair of tweezers. The grave stele that is dated to the late 4th-early 3rd c. B.C. also has an inscription low down:

[τ]ῶιδε τάφῳ κοσμεῖ Λεσχανορίδαν ὁ τεκνῶσας,
Εὐκλῆς ἰατρός πατρίδ[ο]ς ἐκ Τενέδου.

The physician Eukles, who was born in Tenedus, dedicated the stele to his dead son Leschanorida, who was also a doctor; otherwise there would have been no reason to depict medical instruments on the stele that was positioned over his grave. As far as we know, no other stele with a painted representation of tools survives from such an early period. Even the relief representations of doctors and medical instruments are very few up until the end of the Hellenistic period. This type is more widespread during the Roman period.

As for the second grave stele found at Chersonesus, only half of the stele has survived, with its upper moulding (pl.5b). Even so, a series of medical instruments can be discerned, along with an inscription¹⁰⁸: *Εὐκλῆς ἰατρός*. Because of the tools portrayed it is obvious that Dionysius had practised medicine during his lifetime and so we have the name of another doctor who lived and worked in Chersonesus. Amongst the tools depicted, we can safely identify a cupping vessel for bloodletting on the right and after this a probe, which was used to deposit pharmaceutical preparations in wounds¹⁰⁹. The image of a third tool is poorly preserved and cannot be identified. A fourth tool, of which only half is visible, probably belongs to a series of double tools with a probe at one end and a sharp end at the other¹¹⁰. As this grave stele dates from the same period as the previous one, it is possible to see that there was a significant development in the use of medical and surgical tools in the late 4th century B.C. and after. Although we do not know whether Eukles was invited by the city, or whether he arrived in Chersonesus by himself, knowing that there was a need for his services, it is certain that he helped to establish rational medicine in the city.

¹⁰⁵ SEG 36:697; also Zubar: Web Publication

¹⁰⁶ For the use of the instrument, known examples and previous bibliography, see Moschakis 2009, pp. 24-26.

¹⁰⁷ Matthäus 1989, pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁸ SEG 36: 696; also Zubar: Web Publication.

¹⁰⁹ Moschakis 2009, p.27.

¹¹⁰ Moschakis 2009, p.27.

1. 03. Olbia

From Olbia the earliest epigraphic evidence for the cult of Asclepius comes from the Protogenes Decree¹¹¹, dated to 220-210 B.C., in which the citizens of Olbia warmly praised the rich Protogenes for his gifts of money to the city (**pl.5c**). In this inscription there is a reference to the tower of Epidaurius in the city, which has been regarded as evidence for the existence of a temple to Asclepius. This view has had little support and the tower cannot be regarded as definite evidence for the existence of a temple to Aesclepius¹¹². Even so, the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Olbia during the 3rd c. B.C. can be confirmed by some marble heads that belonged to statues of Asclepius¹¹³ (**pl.6a**) and one belonging to Hygieia, now kept in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg. Leypunskaya recognises in a head of Asclepius or Zeus the work of an artist who was influenced by the school of Skopas. She also classifies a small head of Asclepius and the head of Hygieia as works of the Alexandria School, which were particularly widespread in Olbia during the Hellenistic period¹¹⁴.

From the second half of the 3rd century B.C. the city of Olbia faced a series of crises. From the beginning of the 2nd century the city had to pay tribute and was finally occupied and became a protectorate of the Scythian king Scilurus. In the middle of the 2nd century the city suffered a serious decline and in the middle of the 1st century it was occupied by Goths¹¹⁵. The city began to develop again during the 1st century A.D., on a smaller scale, and finally became a Roman garrison in the 2nd century A.D. Olbia's turbulent life may be one of the reasons why for a period of over three centuries there is no evidence for the cult of Asclepius in the city, as the next important inscription¹¹⁶ dates from 222 to 235 A.D. This inscription refers to Iulianos, son of Alexandros, who constructed or repaired the temple of Asclepius and Hygieia from its foundations to the tile roofs, at his own expense as a gift to his motherland. As is evident in the inscription, Asclepius and Hygieia had a different temple to the other gods Sarapis, Isis and Poseidon¹¹⁷. The reference to a *stoa* is crucial for the existence of an organised sanctuary or even an *Asklepieion*¹¹⁸. It is also significant that there is a supplication for good health, , for the emperor Marcus

¹¹¹ *IosPE*, I- 2: 32.

¹¹² Hirst 1903, p. 44.

¹¹³ Sokolov 1974, p. 84; see also Leypunskaya 1994, p. 16.

¹¹⁴ Leypunskaya 1994, p. 16.

¹¹⁵ Leypunskaya 1994, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ *IosPE* I -2: 184:

τύχη ἀγαθῇ.
ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου Αὐτοκράτορος
Μ(άρκου) Αὐ(ηλίου) · Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης
5 καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ στρατευμάτων
καὶ ὑγείας καὶ εὐσταθείας τῆς πόλεως
θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις Σαράπι καὶ Εἴσι
καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι
Αὐ(ρήλιος) Ιουλιανὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦς
10 νηοὺς ἀπὸ θεμελίων σὺν τῇ στοᾷ
καὶ κεραμώσει καὶ θύραις καὶ θυ[ρί]-
σι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τῇ πα[τρίδι]
κα[τεσκεύασεν].

¹¹⁷ Generally, it is common in Roman times for Asclepius and Hygieia to coexist with other gods in the same temple, see Lioulias 2010, p. 88-92.

¹¹⁸ For *stoai* with a use as an *abaton* or *εγκοιμητήριον*, see Riethmüller 1999, p. 131.

Of the other finds from the city, it is worth mentioning a relief which has generated a variety of different views and whose figures have also been identified as Achilles and Asclepius¹¹⁹.

There is literary evidence for a temple of Asclepius at Panticapaeum, and a priest there called Stratius, from Strabo¹²¹: *And Eratosthenes brings forward, also, the following epigram from the temple of Asclepius at Panticapaeum, which was inscribed on the bronze water-jar that had been burst by freezing: If any man is incredulous in regard to what happens in our country, let him look at this water-jar and know the truth; which, not as a fair offering unto God but as an illustration of our severe winters, has been dedicated by Stratius the priest*

θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ Σωτ[ῆρι]
καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τὴν τ[ράπε]-
ζαν ἀνέστησε Στρα[τόδη]-
μος Μενεστράτου.

35

were either burned or left intact. After depositing their offerings, the pilgrims would perform the act of sacrifice¹²⁴.

In the museum at Kerch there is a statue of Asclepius which lacks the head and the right hand, which the god was using to lean on his rod, which is missing also¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ Jameson 1994, p. 37.

¹²⁵ Namoylik 2010, p. 157

2. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Southern Black Sea Region:

Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds (map 3)

2.01. The Coast of Bithynia, Paphlagonia and the Pontus: There is evidence of an *Asklepieion* in Kalchedon (Kadiköy) from an inscription¹²⁶, dating from the 1st c. B.C. to the 1st c. A.D, which refers to the Temple of Asclepius and the *stoa*, and also defines the duties of the priests. In the coinage¹²⁷, Asclepius appears on coins issued during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A.D.). From Heraclea Pontica (Eregli) there is a dedication¹²⁸ to Asclepius by the healer Markios Xenokrates, dated to the 2nd c. A.D. From another grave inscription we learn that the died at the age of seventy¹²⁹.

An inscription from **Tieion** (Filyos) refers to a priest of Asclepius¹³⁰:

Αἰμιλι[— —
ὁ διὰ βίου ἱε[ρεὺς Ἀ]-
σκληπιοῦ ἔ[στησεν]
ὑπὲρ φυλῆ[ς — — —]
5 καθῶς ὑπέ[σχετο].

Asclepius, Hygieia and the snake appear in the coinage¹³¹ dating from the period stretching from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) until that of Valerian (253-259 A.D.). From **Amastria(is)** (Amasra) we have a reference¹³² to an in an inscription dated to 180 A.D:

μετὰ τὸ τεθῆναι ἡμᾶς, ὃς ἂν ἀνεώξῃ ἢ κεινήσῃ
ἢ μεταθῇ ἐκ τοῦ ἀναλήμματος δώσει τῇ
[φυλῇ(?) μ]ου Ἀσ[κ]ληπιᾶ[δ]ι (δην.) .αφ'.

During the reign of Faustina Minor, Hygieia was perceived as Tyche, protectress of Amastria and founder of the city¹³³.

From **Sinope** there is an inscription on an altar with a dedication to Asclepius and Hygieia by Ophilios Polykarpos¹³⁴. From a gravestone inscription we have the testimony of a certain healer named Maximos¹³⁵. In **Amisos** (Samsun) Asclepius and Hygieia appear in the coinage¹³⁶ from the period stretching from the reign of Emperor Trajan (98-117 A.D.) until that of Trebonianus Gallus (251-253 A.D.). In another

¹²⁶ *IK Kalchedon*: 12.

¹²⁷ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 370.

¹²⁸ *IK Heraclea Pont.*: 7.

¹²⁹ *IK Heraclea Pont.*: 33.

¹³⁰ Robert, *Et. anat.*: 286, 10.

¹³¹ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 372.

¹³² Merek, *Kat. Amastris*: 63.

¹³³ Saprykin 2010, p. 473.

¹³⁴ Robinson 1906, p. 306.

¹³⁵ *AJA* 9, 1905, p. 315 pl. 44.

¹³⁶ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 373.

gravestone inscription we have the name of Threptos, who was born in Amisos and was a healer,¹³⁷.

In **Amaseia** (Amasya) in the hinterland, Asclepius and the snake appear in coinage from the period stretching from the reign of Antoninus Pius until that of Caracalla¹³⁸. In a gravestone inscription there is a reference to Aurelios Philomousos, who was an¹³⁹, while in three other inscriptions we have the theophoric name of Asklepiades¹⁴⁰. Near Amaseia, in a minor city named **Phazemon**, there was a sanctuary of Asclepius and the Nymphae. In the city there were natural thermal springs¹⁴¹ and the local temples attracted pilgrims from the Greek cities of the Pontus, such as Sinope and others¹⁴². In **Cerasus** (Giserun), Asclepius appears in coins¹⁴³ from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.). From **Trapezous** (Trabzon) there is a dedication¹⁴⁴ to Asclepius and Hygieia on a relief from the Roman period¹⁴⁵: [ὁ δεῖνα] ἀνέθηκε]ν Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ].

2.02. The Case of Abonuteichos ó Ionopolis (Inebolu)

Abonuteichos was a minor city on the coast of Paphlagonia which achieved full civic status in the 1st century A.D. and adopted the name Ionopolis under Marcus Aurelius. From Lucian we know of the prophecy that was given at the Sanctuary to Apollo in Chalcedon and the structure of a temple for Apollo and Asclepius at Abonuteichos. This temple was linked with a legend of Glycon, a snake which was worshipped as a god. The instigator of this fictitious cult was Alexander, a false prophet of Glycon. Alexander claimed to possess a new manifestation of Asclepius in the form of a snake. The cult was successful, spreading through a wide area, especially in the Pontus and Asia Minor. Marcus Aurelius recognised the cult by conferring status on Abonuteichos¹⁴⁶. Sopyrkin believes that the story of the foundation of the temple in Abonuteichos by a prophecy of Apollo can be connected with the cult of Apollo Iatros in the western and northern Black Sea regions¹⁴⁷.

¹³⁷ *St. Pont.* III: 7b.

¹³⁸ Olshausen 1990, p.1875-1876.

¹³⁹ *St. Pont.* III: 110a.

¹⁴⁰ *St. Pont.* III: 131; 137b and 153.

¹⁴¹ Olshausen 1990, p.1875.

¹⁴² Saprykin 2010, p. 473.

¹⁴³ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 373, also Olshausen 1990, p.1876.

¹⁴⁴ *CIBM* IV, 2: 1015.

¹⁴⁵ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 374.

¹⁴⁶ Grimm 2008, pp. 169-181.

¹⁴⁷ Saprykin 2010, p. 474.

PART C

The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Thrace and Lower Moesia

1. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia on the Thracian Coast:

Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds (map 4)

1.01. The Cities on the Thracian Coast: Of the cities on the coast of Thrace (in Bulgaria and modern Turkey), the most important centres of the cult were **Mesembria** and **Odessos**. We have evidence for the cult of Asclepius from **Apollonia Pontica**, in the form of coinage¹⁴⁸: coins depicting Asclepius and Hygieia from the reigns of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.), Lucius Verus (161-169 A.D.) and Caracalla (198-211 A.D.). Healing gods appeared on the coinage¹⁴⁹ at **Anchialos**: a snake on a coin from the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.); an Asclepius-Hygieia-snake group on a coin from the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.); Asclepius, Asclepius-Hygieia and a snake on a coin from the reign of Geta (209-211 A.D.), and Asclepius and Hygieia-snake on a coin from the reign of Caracalla. At the East Thrace and the Propontis coast, (**map 5**) from **Byzantium**, an inscription has been found bearing a dedication to Asclepius and Hygieia¹⁵⁰, and the gods also appear on the city's coinage¹⁵¹: Asclepius on a coin from the reign of Septimius Severus, and Asclepius-Hygieia on a coin from the reign of Caracalla. At **Perinthos**, Asclepius and Hygieia appear both on coinage and medals: Asclepius on coins from the reigns of Geta, Caracalla and Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.), and Asclepius and Hygieia on a medal. In **Salymbria**, the name of Hygieia appears in an inscription that presents the goddess as having served as an eponymous hieromnemon¹⁵².

1.02. Mesembria (Nesebar)

At **Mesembria**¹⁵³ there is evidence of the existence of two temples of Apollo¹⁵⁴, one in the agora of the ancient city and one near the south harbour, which was under the protection of Apollo¹⁵⁵. There is no evidence of Asclepius's cult in the city during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. We do not know if this is due to a cessation of relations with Athens or some other reason, such as the lack of excavations. We know that during the Roman period *thermae*, Roman baths, were operating in the city

¹⁴⁸ Kirova 2010, p. 251.

¹⁴⁹ Kirova 2010, pp. 251-252

¹⁵⁰ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 328

¹⁵¹ Kirova 2010, p. 249

¹⁵² Sherk 1992, pp. 243-244, for the inscription see, *Perinthos- Heracleia*, 304:

[— —] ούσης θεᾶς Ὑγείας οἱ κατο[ι]-
[κοῦντες στεφά(?)] νοῦντι Στρατόνεικ[ον]

¹⁵³ Mesembria, a Dorian colony founded in the late 6th century B. C., probably by settlers from Megara, Byzantion and Chalcedon, was located on an island connected to the land by an isthmus. The city had close political connections with Athens during the 5th century B.C. and was a member of the Delian League. During the Hellenistic era Mesembria was most closely connected, probably as a kind of dependency, with the Thracian hinterland and its kings, Petrova 2013, p.124.

¹⁵⁴ For the three earliest references to the temple of Apollo see *IGBulg* I²: 308(11)

¹⁵⁵ Preshlenov 2003, pp. 157-208.

and excavations have brought to light a hall with a cruciform plan and five rooms with a heating installation¹⁵⁶. The cult of Asclepius appeared in the city in the first century A.D.

Inscriptions: A very important inscription has been found in Mesembria which is dated to the late 1st century B.C.¹⁵⁷. It is a decree for the dedication to the temple of Apollo of a statue of Glaukias, son of Athanaionos, described as . The decree must have been set up in the city's *Asklepieion*:

- 18 τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τοῦτο εἰς τελα-
μῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου ἀναγράψαντες
20 ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ Ἀσκληπιῆον

It appears from the inscription that the healer Glaukias provided a great service to the city in very difficult circumstances, which are not mentioned in the inscription. In the city Asclepius was probably worshipped with the epithet , as is evident in another inscription on a Thracian Rider relief, which comes from the site of **Goritsa** in Mesembria¹⁵⁸:

[Ἀσκ]ληπιῶ Κεμπτηνῶ Ταρουλας Βειθυος
[ὁ κ]αὶ Σκωρις χαριστήριον ἀνέθηκεν

1.03. Odessos (Varna)

Odessos¹⁵⁹ flourished most notably during the Hellenistic era, when the city served as a temporary base for the armies of the Thracian successor to Alexander the Great, King Lysimachus (323-280 B.C.). During this period Odessos acquired various public buildings and shrines. The period between the late 2nd century B.C. and early 1st century A.D. saw a significant expansion in the cult of the local Thracian Hero¹⁶⁰ under the epithet **Karabasmos** and later **Darzalas**. Amongst the public buildings constructed in Odessos at this time are the great *thermae*¹⁶¹, a complex that occupied about 7,000 sq. m. and is considered to be one of the largest *thermae* complexes of the Roman period. (pl. 6b)

Architectural Ruins: During the excavations of the great *thermae* of Odessos evidence came to light of the existence of a temple to Asclepius and possibly of an *Asklepieion*. During the uncovering of the west façade of the *thermae*, there emerged a double underground passage leading to two porticoes, which served to support a second floor above. In this area were found altars, votive reliefs, monumental statues

¹⁵⁶ Preshlenov 2003, p.163.

¹⁵⁷ *IGBulg* I²: 315.

¹⁵⁸ SEG 24: 906; *IGBulg* I²: 354 (4); Riethmüller indicates the location in the *chora* of Anchialos, see Riethmüller 2005a, p.328, 58.

¹⁵⁹ Odessos, a Milesian colony, was founded in the early 6th century B.C., the city became an important port during the first few centuries of its life, even though its population was not particularly large. For the foundation of the city and its history see, Minchev 2003, p.209-278.

¹⁶⁰ For the cult of the Hero Rider in Odessos and also the cult of the "Great God" see Gocheva 1996, pp. 121-127, Stoianova 2010 and also Petrova 2013, pp. 119-131.

¹⁶¹ For the great *thermae* of Odessos see Georgiev 2008, also Oppermann 2007, pp. 85-92.

and statuettes. All these finds lead to the conclusion that in this part of the complex there was a temple of Asclepius and possibly an *Asklepieion*, which was directly connected with the city's *thermae*¹⁶². We know of the connection between Asclepius' cult and water, and this connection may be observed in all the Thracian sanctuaries, as we shall soon see. It is worth noting that the view of water, during the Roman period, as a means of expiation or purification was to assume a more practical aspect, as the healing properties of water acquired a greater importance through the use of thermal baths. Therefore, the existence of an *Asklepieion* beside the city's *thermae* can be safely supported¹⁶³. As we shall see below, a temple of Asclepius probably also existed in the *thermae* of Serdica.

Statues: From Odessos we have a marble head of Asclepius, together with one of Hygieia¹⁶⁴. Of greater interest is a group of small statues of Asclepius and Hygieia, partly preserved¹⁶⁵.

Inscriptions: One of the three altars found during the excavations bears a Latin inscription¹⁶⁶; it appears that the altar was dedicated to Asclepius and Hygieia during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.), who is also mentioned in a number of inscriptions from Odessos and Dionysopolis since he was considered to be a benefactor of these cities. Another inscription, in a votive relief with a pediment and akroteria, bears a dedication to Asclepius, who is addressed as

· Saviour of the Universe· It is also highly significant that Marcus Aurelius makes a dedication to Asclepius, thanking him for his healing¹⁶⁷. The inscription is dated to the beginning of the third century A.D.:

τῷ τῆς οἰκουμέ-
νης σωτῆρι Ἀσκλη-
πιῷ Μάρκος Αὐρή-
λιος Καϊκίλλιος
Καϊκιλλίου νεώτε-
ρος ὑπὲρ θεραπεί-
ας εὐχαριστήριον.

The next inscription from Odessos also refers to Asclepius and Hygieia¹⁶⁸. Asclepius is addressed as . This epithet is characteristic of the region of Thrace, mostly

¹⁶² Dontcheva 1998, pp. 181-193.

¹⁶³ At the great *thermae* of Dion, which were constructed in about 200 A.D., six statues were found in a room in the northern section of the *thermae*. The statues represent Asclepius and his family (Hygieia, Epione, Podaleirios, Mahaonas, Panaceaia, Aigle, Akeso) and are considered to be the most integrated portrayal of the Asclepiads. For the excavations and finds from the *thermae* at Dion see Pantermalis 1986, pp.10-16 and Pantermalis 1988 pp. 167-172.

¹⁶⁴ Dontcheva 1998, pp. 184- 185.

¹⁶⁵ Dontcheva 1998, p. 186.

¹⁶⁶ Dontcheva 1998, p. 182: *Aesculapio et Hy[g]iae T[itus] Vitra/siu]s Pollio co(n)s(ul), pon/tifex, proco(n)sul,/ leg(atus) Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) e[x/*

¹⁶⁷ *IGBulg* I²: 86 (2)

¹⁶⁸ *IGBulg* I²: 86: [κυρίῳ Ἀσκλη]πιῷ κα[ί] Ὑγ[ι]ᾶ
[ὁ δεῖνα Ἐρ]μοκράτους ὑπὲρ
[ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν] ιδίων χαριστήριον.

north of the Rhodope Mountains. It accompanies the names of many gods and particularly those of the Thracian Hero-Rider and the healing god Asclepius. This epithet is not considered common on the coast of Thrace¹⁶⁹.

Another inscription¹⁷⁰ from Odessos, dated to the 2nd century A.D., refers to Asklepiades, a priest of the , who is also ¹⁷¹, head physician of the city, and seems to have played a prominent role as he is also referred to as and , -the best

Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἀπελλᾶ τοῦ Δημητρίου ἀρχιατρὸς
καὶ δημοφίλητος καὶ ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ γυμνασίαρχος
καὶ ἀριστεὺς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ἀννὶ Νεικομήδους χαίρετε.

The appellation indicates the existence of medical associations in the city during Roman times and Asklepiades was probably in charge and certainly had an important role in the structure that provided medical care in the city. The appellation probably refers to the ability of prominent rich men to offer the oil that was necessary for adolescents to train in the city's *gymnasion*. The fact that Asklepiades was a priest in the temple of the is very interesting. At first, the coexistence of a rational healer and the priest of a deity in the same person and temple could be an indication of the predominance of rational medicine; also, it is obvious that physicians had succeeded in convincing patients that medicaments and drugs were instruments of the gods' healing powers. It is also interesting that Asklepiades served his duties as a priest at the temple of the and not at the temple of Asclepius. This leads us to wonder about the healing properties of the local Thracian Hero, or the issue of the syncretistic fusion of the two gods. Furthermore, the case of Asklepiades might be a good opportunity to consider the possibility of the coexistence under the same roof of the and other equivalent or secondary gods. Of the remaining inscriptions found at Odessos, it is worth mentioning the inscription dedicated to Asclepius (saviour) and Hygieia, in which both are referred to as ¹⁷².

The last inscription¹⁷³ is on a relief plaque with a depiction of the Thracian Rider and comes from **Kichevo**, which is located near modern Varna. It bears a dedication to Asclepius with the epithet : Ἡρωὶ Ἀσκληπιῶνι. The inscription is another case in point for an open discussion of the relationship between the local god Hero and Asclepius.

The physicians' tombs: In the area of Odessos the excavations uncovered four tombs dating from the 2nd to the 3rd centuries A.D. All of them contained

¹⁶⁹ See Veligianni, pp. 154-155; the author believes that this epiclesis was in use mainly during the Imperial period; she also notes that the *ἀναθέται* (commissioners) are always local Thracians.

¹⁷⁰ *IGBulg* I²: 150.

¹⁷¹ Nutton 1997, pp.191-226. Also, for the institution of the city physician see Nutton 1981, pp. 9-46.

¹⁷² *IGBulg* I²: 76: τὸν σωτήρα Ἀσκλη-
πιὸν καὶ τὴν Ὑγιεί-
αν | · εἴλεω · τοῖς κυρί-
οις Φοῖβος ἀνέστη-
σεν ·

¹⁷³ *IGBulg* I²: 266 (2).

medical-pharmaceutical instruments and it is obvious that they belonged to doctors¹⁷⁴. The finds include a probe, a fragment of a *speculum*, a suction cup, a scalpel and wafers. In one of these tombs a booklet with instructions for preparing medicines was found. The richest of the tombs, which is dated to the 3rd century A.D., contained medical instruments, bottles for drugs and also traces of the drugs themselves. All these finds show a great flowering of the medical art in the area, with specialised doctors who practised medicine on a scientific basis.

2. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Thracian Hinterland: Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds. (map 4)

2.01. Philippopolis (Plovdiv) Region

The region of **Philippopolis** was an area with a wide distribution of the Asclepius cult. As is evident from the finds, **Philippopolis** was an important urban centre of the Asclepius cult, although the god's most important rural sanctuary was at **Batkun**. Another small suburban centre existed at **Varvara**. From **Bolyartsi**¹⁷⁵ there is an inscription addressed to Asclepius ἰσaviourῶ Hygieia and Telesphorus¹⁷⁶ by Eustochios, son of Asklepiades, who is referred to as . From **Izvor**¹⁷⁷, in the Philippopolis region, there is a relief on which the figure of Asclepius has been identified¹⁷⁸. On the left-hand side of the relief, which has an arched top¹⁷⁹, is the figure of Hygieia and in front of her Asclepius is depicted holding his rod and looking towards an altar. On the other side of the altar there is a male figure depicted on a smaller scale than the other two, extending a horn towards the altar. This very interesting scene may well depict an offering on the god's altar from a worshipper who came to the temple¹⁸⁰. (pl. 7a)

From **Malko Belyovo**¹⁸¹ there is an inscription with a dedication to Asclepius on a relief of the Thracian Rider. Asclepius is addressed as a god¹⁸²: θεῶ Α[σκ]ληπιῶ δῶρον. From the village of **Malo Konare**¹⁸³ there are inscriptions on statue bases and on a relief of the Thracian Rider¹⁸⁴. A sanctuary of the Thracian Rider and cult of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus probably existed at **Novosel**; two reliefs have been found there depicting the Thracian Rider and bearing inscriptions with

¹⁷⁴ Aparaschivei 2010, p. 147.

¹⁷⁵ Bolyartsi village lies about 23 km. South-east of the town of Plovdiv (Philippopolis).

¹⁷⁶ *IG Bulg* III, 1: 1149.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
σωτήρι Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ
Υγείᾳ καὶ Τελεσφόρῳ
θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις · Εὐστό-
5 χιος Κέλεϱ Ἀσκληπιάδου
πρώτος ἀρχων εὐχαριστήρι(ον).

¹⁷⁷ The village of Izvor lies about 19 km. south of Plovdiv (Philippopolis); its name is translated as 'spring'.

¹⁷⁸ Dobruski 1907a, p. 134, pl. 71.

¹⁷⁹ H: 0.29m.; W: 0.24m.

¹⁸⁰ This scene is reminiscent of the relief from Thirea, with the procession of pilgrims to the healing gods; see Krug 1997, p. 125.

¹⁸¹ The village of Malko Belovo is about 67 km. west of Plovdiv (Philippopolis).

¹⁸² *IGBulg* III, 1: 1096.

¹⁸³ The village of Malo Konare is about 30 km. west of Plovdiv (Philippopolis).

¹⁸⁴ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 332.

dedications of thanks to Asclepius, who is addressed as in both of them¹⁸⁵. From **Pastusha** there is also an inscription on a relief of the Thracian Rider with a dedication to the Asclepius¹⁸⁶. From the same place come a fragmentary statue of Asclepius and statuettes of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus¹⁸⁷. From **Patalenitsa**¹⁸⁸, a village near Batkun, there are two inscriptions with a dedication to Asclepius, referred to as on the one and on the other¹⁸⁹. The second inscription gives us the name of a **priest** of the **Temple** of Asclepius, . From **Paradzhik** there is an inscription with a dedication to Asclepius¹⁹⁰.

2.02. Philippopolis (Plovdiv)

One of the main cults in the **Philippopolis**¹⁹¹ was that of Apollo , and it is known from the inscriptions that Pythian games were organised in the god's honour under the name Alexandria¹⁹². Even if architectural traces of a shrine to Asclepius had not been found, it is certain that his worship was widespread not only in the city but also in the broader territory of Philippopolis. From the epigraphic evidence we know that there was an (Asclepian clan) in the city¹⁹³: *κρατίστη φυλή/ Ασκληπιάς*. From the inscription we understand that the had a dominant role in the social and religious life of the city as it is defined as .¹⁹⁴

The Marble Frieze with Asclepius and his Family, the Asclepiads (pl. 7b).

A unique find from ancient Thrace comes from Philippopolis in the form of a marble freeze dated to the 3rd century A.D. depicting Asclepius and his family, the Asclepiads¹⁹⁵. The frieze bears a complete representation of eight persons and a dog. Roughly in the centre of the representation is Hygieia, easily recognisable as she is depicted in the usual type. On her right stands Asclepius, who turns slightly to the right as he extends his hand to receive a gift from a woman. Asclepius holds his rod in his left hand; the rod is bending in such a way as to look like the branch of a tree. With her left hand, the woman, to whom Asclepius is extending his hand, is delicately

¹⁸⁵ *IGBulg III*, 1: 1407 and 1408.

¹⁸⁶ *IGBulg III*, 1: 1397.

¹⁸⁷ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 332.

¹⁸⁸ The village of Patalenitsa is about 60 km. west of Plovdiv (Philippopolis).

¹⁸⁹ *IGBulg III*, 1: 1302 and 1303.

¹⁹⁰ *IGBulg III*, 1: 1091.

¹⁹¹ Philippopolis became a prominent centre of the province of Thrace during the Roman period, after it had acquired city status in the late 1st century A.D., under the Roman name of Trimontium. The **Via Militaris** passed through the city and contributed to its development, which acquired important public buildings, such as a forum, a stadium, public baths, sanctuaries, a theatre and an Odeon. For the development of Philippopolis from the 1st to the 4th centuries A.D. see Topalilov 2012.

¹⁹² Ulrike 2005, p. 109. At Philippopolis Apollo was worshipped as *Κενδρεισηνός* or *Κενδρεισός*; see Riethmüller 1999, p. 211.

¹⁹³ *IGBulg III*, 1: 914.

¹⁹⁴ We know of the existence of an *Ασκληπιάς φυλή* in Heracleia (modern Bitola) together with other clans, such as the *Αρτεμισιάς*, *Ηράκλειος* and *Διονυσιάς*; see Karamitrou-Moschakis 2010 p. 67. There was also an *Ασκληπιάς φυλή* at Thessaloniki; see *IG X*, 2, 1: 183 and 265.

¹⁹⁵ Seure 1929, pp. 51-83; also Dontcheva 2001, p. 189 and Kirova 2010, pp. 140-141.

touching the head of Telesphorus, who is standing between her and Asclepius. With her right hand she offers gifts (?) to Asclepius. Behind this woman and at the right-hand end of the representation stands another woman, portrayed frontally. To Hygieia's left stands another woman, her head covered by her *himation*; in her left hand she is holding a thurible. Beside her stand two naked men, wearing only a cloak. Both of them are holding spears and in the space between them is portrayed a half-seated dog. At the left-hand end of the relief there is an altar-like structure. The female figure who gives the gifts to Asclepius could be identified as **Panacea**, while the other female figures are probably **Iaso** and **Akeso**. The two male figures have been identified, with reservations, as **Machaon** and **Podaleirius**¹⁹⁶. The depiction of Asclepius' family was not common, and in this case we believe, if the identifications are correct, that we may have one of the very few representations of Asclepius' family in existence¹⁹⁷.

Inscriptions and Votive Reliefs: Among the other finds from Philippopolis it is worth mentioning the inscription on a relief to Asclepius and Hygieia¹⁹⁸, *κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ κὲ Υγείᾳ*, another relief to Asclepius¹⁹⁹ and a relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider and dedication to Asclepius²⁰⁰, all of which are dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.

Coinage: Of the 2nd-century coinage, healing gods are depicted on coins from the reigns of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.): Asclepius, portrayed standing on the left, holding a serpent-entwined staff²⁰¹; Commodus (176-192 A.D.): Hygieia portrayed standing, feeding a serpent from a phiale²⁰², and Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.): Portraying Hygieia in the well-known type and Hygieia with Telesphorus at her side²⁰³.

2.03. The Sanctuary of Asclepius Zemedrenos at Batkun, Pazardzhik Vicinity (Phillipopolis Region)

One of the most important of the Thracian sanctuaries has been partly excavated near Batkun in the Pazardzhik region. It is situated about 4.5 km. away from Batkun near the Monastery of Sts. Peter and Paul. The sanctuary was probably built in the second half of the first century A.D., as is evident from coins of the Emperor Antoninus. The first official excavations of the sanctuary were carried out by Dimitar and Konstantin Hristovich Tsontchev, who found more than fifty votive reliefs, most of them with a depiction of the Thracian Rider, together with a number of statues with representations of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus²⁰⁴. The excavations indicate that the sanctuary extended over two different levels or terraces: the south terrace, which lay at the lowest level, and the north terrace, which lay at the highest level. In the northern section there was a natural source of water.

¹⁹⁶ Kirova 2010, p. 141.

¹⁹⁷ On one relief from Thirea Peloponnesus, dated to the first half of the 4th c. B.C., there is also a depiction of Asclepius' family. In this relief the family is portrayed in a line and a group of worshippers, also in line, is depicted approaching them, bringing a pig for sacrifice. See Krug 1997 p. 127 pl. 50.

¹⁹⁸ *IGBulg* III, 1: 934.

¹⁹⁹ *IGBulg* III, 1: 945.

²⁰⁰ *IGBulg* III, 1: 967.

²⁰¹ Mushmov 1912: no 5087; no 5088.

²⁰² Mushmov 1912: no 5227.

²⁰³ Mushmov 1912: no 5292; no 5293.

²⁰⁴ For the excavations and the finds see, Tsontchev 1941

Inscriptions: The importance of the Asclepius cult and his sanctuary can be seen in the great number of inscriptions on statue bases and reliefs²⁰⁷. Asclepius bears the epithet *Asclepius Aegleus*, which has many variants: *Asclepius Aegleus*, *Asclepius Aegleus*, *Asclepius Aegleus*, *Asclepius Aegleus*, *Asclepius Aegleus*, *Asclepius Aegleus*. An inscription on a statue base dated to the reign of Trajan informs us about the dedication of a statue to Asclepius *Asclepius Aegleus*, for the salvation and health of the commissioners, their homeland and the leaders of the army²⁰⁸:

[τῶν — — — —]ω Ροιμὼι *vac.*
[συνεισε]νεγκάντων εἰς τὴν
[ἀναθήκην] τοῦ ἀγάλματος κυρίῳ
[Ἀσκ]ληπιῷ Ζυλμυζδροη-
[ν]ωι ὑπέρ τε τῆς ἑαυτῶν σω-
[τη]ρίας καὶ ὑγείας καὶ ὅλης τῆς
[πα]τρίδος καὶ στρατηγίας
[τὸν θε]ὸν ἀνέθηκαν Αὐτοκρά-
[τορ]ι Νερούα] Τ[ρ]οιανῶ Καίῃ-
[αρι Σε]βαστῶι — — — — —]
[— — — — —]

In a total of five inscriptions Asclepius has the epiclesis ²⁰⁹. One inscription with a dedication by *K* on the base of a statuary group, dated to the 3rd century A.D., addresses Asclepius together with Hygieia and Telesphorus²¹⁰. It is interesting that all of these figures are called *kybernetes*. In another group of inscriptions the god bears the epithet ²¹¹ 'prominent', and in another inscription the god has the same epithet as Hygieia²¹².

²⁰⁷ Other inscriptions with a dedication to Asclepius, apart from those mentioned in the text, are as follows: *IGBulg* III: 1 Altar: 1278; statue bases: 1132; 1133; 1135; 1171; 1172. Reliefs: 1114; 1115; 1117- 1122; 1126; 1128; 1131; 1136- 1140; 1148; 1153; 1155; 1157- 1159; 1161- 1163; 1167; 1173- 1181; 1184; 1186- 1195; 1200; 1203; 1205; 1217; 1221; 1223- 1228; 1232- 1250; 1259; 1261; 1264- 1266; 1268- 1270; 1272; 1277; 1281; 1286; 1287; 1302.

θεῶ ἐπηκῶι [Ζυμυ]-
δρηνῶ Α[σκληπιῶ]
ΠΡΑ[— — — — —]

Κλ(αύδιος) · Σπαρτοκος κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ Ὑγίᾳ καὶ Τε-
λεσφόρῳ Ζυσδρηνοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ρυμεταλκου
τοῦ καὶ Ὀλυμπίου κατὰ χρησμόν κληθέντος εὐχήν.

²¹²*IGBul* III, 1: 1145: ἐπιφανεστάτοις θεοῖς Ἀσκλη-
πιῶ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ Ζυλμυζδορηνοῖς.

One statue of Asclepius is of the Giustini type²³⁷; it lacks the head and the lower part of the foot, as well as the right hand. The main difference between these and the previous statues is the fact that the *himation* leaves only a small part of the trunk uncovered. From another statue²³⁸ of Asclepius, of the Florence type, most of the lower part of the body, the head and the right hand are missing.

Statue Groups: series of statue groups, three in total, which appear mainly in Batkun, is very interesting. In this series we have a free-standing representation of Asclepius seated, Hygieia standing and Telesphorus²³⁹. The best preserved of these free-standing works portrays Asclepius on the left-hand side of the group, seated probably on a throne²⁴⁰ (**pl. 8b**). He is depicted in three-quarter view, though his head and the lower part of his body are missing; to his right stands Hygieia, her body covered by the long *chiton* and *himation*, while her right arm hangs downwards. The last figure portrayed is that of Telesphorus, who is standing on Asclepius's left, beside the throne. Telesphorus is represented in the usual manner, his head covered with a cap. Another series of statue groups portrays Asclepius together with Telesphorus²⁴¹. The best preserved of these retains the lower part of a standing Asclepius together with the lower part of his rod, and a standing, though headless, figure of Telesphorus on his left²⁴². A series of four statues and statuettes of Hygieia portray the goddess in the well-known type from northern Thrace²⁴³. Only one example of a statue of Telesphorus²⁴⁴ alone exists from Batkun, in which Telesphorus is represented in the traditional iconographic form, covered with the cowl hood (**pl. 8c**).

Votive Reliefs: In the sanctuary at Batkun were found the two well-known types of relief connected with Asclepius's cult. The first type is one with a depiction of Asclepius, or Asclepius and Hygieia, or Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus. On several of these reliefs there is an inscription with a dedication to the god. The second type depicts the Thracian Rider and bears inscriptions to Asclepius or to Asclepius and Hygieia²⁴⁵.

Reliefs of the first type are to be found on plaques of small dimensions (H: 0.25-0.30m W: 0.16-0.20m) with an arched top. The relief is shallow and the sculpture work of poor quality. In one example at Batkun, Asclepius is depicted standing in the Giustini

²³⁷ Dontcheva 2007, p. 174, pl. 5; for the Giustini type see *LIMC* II, Asklepios, No 154-233. The Giustini type of Asclepius has been associated with the cult statue of Asclepius set up in the Asklepieion at Athens, in 420/19 B.C., mentioned by Pausanias (1.21.4.) Some authors originally attributed the original statue to the sculptor Alkamenes.

²³⁸ Tsontchev 1941, p. 42; see also Dontcheva 2007, p. 175 pl. 8. For the Florence type see *LIMC* II Asklepios, No 145-152.

²³⁹ Tsontchev 1941, 34 no 9; 35, 11, 13; Dontcheva 2007, p. 176, pl. 9, 10, 11.

²⁴⁰ Statues portraying a seated Asclepius are not very common. There is a description by Pausanias of a statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus: "He (Asclepius) is seated on a throne, grasping a staff...", Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae* II, 27, 2. On the other hand, there are numerous reliefs showing Asclepius seated; for example, see the relief from Epidaurus dating to the second half of the 4th century B. C.: Ridgway 1966.

²⁴¹ Telesphorus is represented together with Asclepius in four statue groups from Batkun; see *IGBulg* III, 1: 1133; 1171; 1172; 1182.

²⁴² Dontcheva 2007, p. 177, pl. 13.

²⁴³ Dontcheva 2007, p. 177, pls. 14, 15; Metropoulou 1984, pp. 23-25.

²⁴⁴ Tsontchev 1941, 35, No 22; Dontcheva 2007, p. 177, pl. 16. For the cult and iconography of Telesphorus in Thrace see, Dontcheva 2001, pp. 185-199, also Dontcheva 2001d, pp. 99-110.

²⁴⁵ There are inscriptions on both types of relief: *IGBulg*, III, 1: 1183; 1185-1195; 1205; 1217; 1221; 1223; 1225-1232; 1236-1242; 1244-1249; 1257; 1259-1261; 1264-1266; 1268-1272; 1277.

type, but holding an egg, which he offers to the snake²⁴⁶. In another votive relief Asclepius is portrayed standing en face, with his right hand extending a phiale towards an altar²⁴⁷. In a third relief plaque with an arched top, Asclepius is shown standing on the left touching his rod, while on the right stands Hygieia with a snake coiling up her chest and wrapping itself around her hand, which is holding a phiale. In the middle of the representation, between the two gods and above the level of their shoulders, there is a depiction of Telesphorus in his common form²⁴⁸.

Of the type of votive relief with the Thracian Rider, all the various types of representation of the Hero exist. On one rectangular plaque of small size with an arched top, the galloping rider is depicted hunting boar²⁴⁹. On another votive relief with an arched top, the form typical of Thracian votive plaques, there is a depiction of the Thracian Rider holding a deer and accompanied by two dogs, while his horse is walking towards an altar²⁵⁰.

Reliefs of a galloping Asclepius: Some Thracian Rider reliefs from Batkun form a separate group as they depict a galloping Asclepius in the usual type of the Thracian Rider. In one of these reliefs, which was first published by Dobruski in 1907, the Rider bears many similarities to Asclepius, especially in respect of the bearded face. This relief also has a dedication to Asclepius :Asclepius is depicted sitting on a walking horse, moving towards an altar and a tree with a phiale to his right hand²⁵¹.

Finds connected with physicians: From Batkun there is an inscription²⁵² referring to the physician Athys, son of Spartokos. The physician's name is probably Thracian²⁵³, though the inscription does not provide any other information about the healer.

2.04. The Sanctuary of Asclepius Zydenos at Varvara, Pazardzhik Vicinity

Architectural Ruins: At Varvara²⁵⁴ excavations have brought to light a rectangular building with a N-SW orientation (dimensions: 16 x 14 m, **pl. 9a**) which probably belonged to a sanctuary of the Thracian Rider²⁵⁵ or Asclepius²⁵⁶.

Inscriptions: At Varvara the cult of Asclepius can be traced mainly in the evidence on inscriptions. The first inscription is on a small cylindrical altar²⁵⁷ (**pl. 9b**) and is a dedication of thanks to Asclepius by the veteran Aurelios Salbis, son of

²⁴⁶ Dobruski 1907a: there are only a few representations of Asclepius offering an egg to the snake; see Karamitrou-Moschakis 2009, p. 62.

²⁴⁷ Dontcheva 2007, p. 178, pl. 17.

²⁴⁸ Dontcheva 2007, p. 182, pl. 22.

²⁴⁹ Dontcheva 2007, p. 186, pl. 27.

²⁵⁰ Boteva 2007, p. 77.

²⁵¹ Dontcheva 2002, p. 320.

²⁵² *IGBulg* III, 1: 1204.

²⁵³ Kirova 2010, p. 82.

²⁵⁴ Varvara lies in the foothills on the northern side of the western Rhodope Mountains, 20 km. west of Pazardzhik and about 55 km. west of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). There are mineral springs in the area. For the antiquities of Varvara see Tsontchev 1940-1941, pp. 60-87.

²⁵⁵ There is an inscription with a dedication to Hero or to Asclepius *Ζυδηνός*, see, *IGBulg* III, 1: 1108:

[Ἡρώ] Ζυδηνῶ Δαρός

[— — — —]τράλεος

[εὐχαρίσ]τήριον.

²⁵⁶ Tsontchev 1940-1941, pp. 74-76.

²⁵⁷ H: 0.36m.; D: 0.095m.

Moukakenthos²⁵⁸, Asclepius is referred to as . On a statue base there is a dedication by a soldier, Aurelios Moukatralis, to Asclepius²⁵⁹: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μουκατραλῖς στρατιώτης κυρίῳ / Ἀσκληπιῶ.

2.05. Serdica (Sofia) Region, The Sanctuary of Asclepius Koulkoussenos

There is evidence for the cult of Asclepius in the **Serdica**²⁶⁰, with the god bearing the epithet , as can be seen in an inscription in which Asclepius is also called and (protector)²⁶¹: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι/τῶ κυρίῳ καὶ/προστάτῃ Ἀ-/σκληπιῶ Κουλ-/κουσσηνωι.

Statues: In the city thermae a statuette of Asclepius has been found²⁶².

Coinage: From the coinage iconography we have a depiction of Asclepius standing with his usual attributes²⁶³ (from the reign of Lucius Verus, 161-169 A.D.), a depiction of Asclepius in front of a tetrastyle temple²⁶⁴ (Septimius Severus, 193-211 A.D.), and a portrayal of Hygeia standing, feeding the snake from a phiale²⁶⁵ (Julia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus). During the reign of Emperor Caracalla (198-217 A.D.) a great increase in the number of depictions of Asclepius in different types may be observed, as well as of Hygieia and Telesphorus²⁶⁶. The variations include Asclepius standing, holding a serpent-entwined staff, with Telesphorus extending a hand towards him; Asclepius seated on the left, holding a phiale and his serpent-entwined rod; Asclepius and Hygeia standing, depicted with their customary attributes; Asclepius standing, resting on his serpent-entwined rod and holding an egg, while opposite the egg lies the serpent. From the reign of Geta (209-212 A.D.) we have a depiction of Asclepius seated on a throne²⁶⁷, while from the reign of Galienus (253-268 A.D.) we have depictions of Asclepius standing, holding his serpent-entwined staff²⁶⁸ and Hygieia standing, feeding a snake from a phiale²⁶⁹.

²⁵⁸ *IGBulg III*, 1: 1101; see also Danov 1937, p. 201, pl. 180.

Inscription: Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σάλβις
Μουκακεν-
θου
βετρανός
5 κυρίῳ
Ἀσκληπιῶ
εὐχαριστήρι-
ον.

²⁵⁹ *IGBulg III*, 1: 1103.

²⁶⁰ Ancient **Serdica**, which lies beneath the modern city of Sofia, was a Thracian settlement. In the late 1st century B.C. Serdica was conquered by the Romans. It became a **municipium**, or centre of an administrative region, during the reign of Emperor Trajan (98–117 A.D.) and was renamed Ulpia Serdica. The ancient city, which had mineral springs, developed an urban character during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. The city had walls, public baths, a forum, a theatre and administrative buildings.

²⁶¹ *IGBulg IV*: 1934.

²⁶² Riethmüller 1999a, p. 334.

²⁶³ Moushmov no 4760.

²⁶⁴ Moushmov no 4783.

²⁶⁵ Moushmov no 4800.

²⁶⁶ Moushmov nos 4815; 4817; 4819; 4820.

²⁶⁷ Moushmov no 4921.

²⁶⁸ Moushmov no 4953.

²⁶⁹ Moushmov no 4968.

2.06. The Asklepieion of Asclepius Limenos at Slivnitsa

The sanctuary lies about 7 km. north-west of the town of Slivnitsa²⁷⁰. During the excavations²⁷¹ carried out between 1983-1985, in the rocky area around the sanctuary niches dug into the rock were discovered. The main find in the sanctuary was a temple measuring 7.10 x 6.50m., with a NW-SE orientation. The poor condition of the remains makes any attempt to reconstruct its façade impossible. Around the perimeter of the temple a number of deposit pits were excavated. A sacrificial altar was found in front of the temple, also in a poor condition, which also makes any reconstruction of its form and size impossible. Various architectural fragments, volutes and capitals were found scattered around the area. (pl. 10a)

The sanctuary is very close to a subterranean cave, which may be connected to the karst spring of Aldomirovo. It was probably founded in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., as is evident from coin finds from the reign of Antoninus Pius, and was in use until the early 4th century A.D. The latest coins are from the reign of Theodosius (408-450 A.D.).

Inscriptions: There are 36 inscriptions²⁷² with dedications to Asclepius, though none to Hygieia. In almost all of the inscriptions Asclepius is called *Asclepius*, as for example in the inscription, dated to the 2nd-3rd c. A.D., on the base of a statuette of a Thracian rider who holds a deer being attacked by a lion and a dog²⁷³. In five of the inscriptions²⁷⁴ the god has the epiclesis *Asclepius*, and in one relief is also called

by Pheileios, son of Diogenes, who dedicated an altar. We may assume that Pheileios was a *bouleutes* of the *Boule* at Serdica, as it is the closest city to the sanctuary²⁷⁵.

θεῶ ἐπηκόῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ
Λιμηνῶ Φειλείῳ Δι-
ογένου βουλευτῆς εὐξά-
μενος ἐποίησαν τὸν βωμόν.

In another inscription it seems that Asclepius responded to a *paraclesis* from Aurelios, who felt the need to erect a new building (a temple?) in the god's sanctuary as a token of gratitude to him²⁷⁶.

θεῶ Ἀσκλη<η>πι<ω> Λιμην-
νῶ Αὐρη(ή)λιος Ζι Οας πρε-
πόσιτος εὐξάμ-
ενος [— — — —]
5 οἰκοδόμησα τ-
ὸ δίστεγον(?)
καὶ τὸν νέον . .
ν[— — — — —]
εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέ-
θηκα. εὐτυχῶς.

²⁷⁰ Slivnitsa lies about 32.5 km. north-west from Sofia, ancient Serdica.

²⁷¹ For a description of the sanctuary see Boteva 1985a, pp. 23-36 and Boteva 2011, pp. 84-105.

²⁷² For the inscriptions of Slivnitsa, see Tacheva 1999, pp. 152-170.

²⁷³ *IGBulg V*, 5705, *SEG* 49: 916:

Ἀσκληπιῶ Λιμηνῶ Αὐρη(ή)λιος[ς]
Οὐά[λ(ε)]ης {Οὐάλης} εὐχαριστῶ

²⁷⁴ *SEG* 49: 914; *SEG* 49: 917; *SEG* 49:969; *SEG* 49:970; *SEG* 49:971.

²⁷⁵ *SEG* 49: 914, dated ca. 161-163 A.D.

²⁷⁶ *SEG* 49: 917; the inscription dates from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 3rd c. A.D.

There are at least ten cases in which dedicants dedicated a statue representing the god Asclepius to the sanctuary, usually on a base, and it is interesting that in one inscription the god is called ,saviour²⁷⁷. Amongst these dedicants it is worth mentioning Aurelios Herakleides, son of Markos, who was a ²⁷⁸ and Aurelius Hermogenes, who was a soldier²⁷⁹ of the second Parthian Legion (Legio Secunda Parthica)²⁸⁰:

Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμογένης στρατιώτης λεγ[ι(ώνος) β'
Παρθικῆς θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ Λιμην[ω].

Statues: From the sanctuary there are a significant number of statuettes of the Thracian Rider and marble statuettes of Asclepius, Hygieia, Telesphorus and others²⁸¹. One small bronze statuette is of Asclepius²⁸² (**pl. 10b**).

Votive Reliefs: The finds include 180 plaque reliefs²⁸³, many of which are partially preserved, while the majority bear depictions of the Thracian Rider. There are also reliefs of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus.

2.07. Other Sites in the Serdica Region

In **Kostinbrod** there may have been a sanctuary or temple where Apollo and Asclepius were worshipped together²⁸⁴ (**pl.11a**). From **Dolni Pasarel**²⁸⁵ there are

²⁷⁷ SEG 49: 970, *IGBulg V*: 5708, dated to the 3rd c. A.D.

²⁷⁸ SEG 49: 915; *IGBulg V*: 5701; the inscription on a column fragment probably used as a statue base dates from after 212 A.D.

²⁷⁹ For dedications from Soldiers and Veterans to Asclepius, in the provinces of Lower Moesia and Thrace, see Boteva 2005, pp. 199- 210. There are dedications from Auxiliary soldiers, Legionary soldiers, Beneficarii, Praetorians and Veterans.

²⁸⁰ SEG 49: 969; *IGBulg V* 5704: inscription with a dedication to Asclepius on a statue base dating from the late 2nd to early 3rd c. A.D. Apart from the inscriptions mentioned in the text, the others with a dedication to Asclepius are: Altar: *IGBulg V* 5702 (SEG 49: 916), 3rd c. A.D. Statue bases: *IGBulg V* 5706 (SEG 49: 973), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5707 (SEG 49: 975), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5709 (SEG 49: 971), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5710 (SEG 49: 975), late 2nd-3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5719 (SEG 49: 979), 2nd/3rd c. A. D. *IGBulg V* 5720 (SEG 49: 976), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5721 (SEG 49: 977), early 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5743 (SEG 49: 982) 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5745 (SEG 49: 980), early 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5746 (SEG 49: 982), early 3rd c. A.D.; Reliefs: *IGBulg V* 5711 (SEG 49: 950), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5712 (SEG 49: 930), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5713 (SEG 49: 924), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5714 (SEG 49: 933), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5715 (SEG 49: 927), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5716 (SEG 49: 946), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5718 (SEG 49: 918), late 2nd-early 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5722 (SEG 49: 962), 3rd c. A.D.; *IGBulg V* 5723 (SEG 49: 948), late 2nd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5724 (SEG 49:923), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5725 (SEG 49: 921), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5726 (SEG 49: 920), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5727 (SEG 49: 925), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5728 (SEG 49: 958), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5729 (SEG 49: 949), late 2nd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5730 (SEG 49: 926), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5731 (SEG 49: 931), late 2nd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5732 (SEG 49: 932), 3rd c. A. D.; *IGBulg V* 5752 (SEG 49: 923), 3rd c. A.D.

²⁸¹ The reliefs of the Thracian Rider are 91 in total, the statuettes 37. The statuettes of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus are 17 in total, most of which are partially preserved. Even in the reliefs which are partially preserved it is possible to distinguish the well-known types of Thracian Rider relief.

²⁸² H: 0.093m; W: 0.024m, Boteva 1985, p. 37, pl.16. These bronze statuettes had a wide distribution during late Roman times and are products of local workshops; for the various types see Comstock-Vermeule 1971; for similar examples from Macedonia see Kefalidou-Moschakis 1995, p. 41 pl. 4.

²⁸³ Boteva 1985, pp. 31-38.

²⁸⁴ *IGBulg IV*: 2018: see also Riethmüller 1999a, p. 332.

²⁸⁵ Dolni Pasarel is about 33.5 km. south of Sofia, ancient Serdica.

reliefs and statues of Asclepius and Hygieia, but the most important find is an inscription on a statue base where Asclepius has the epithet²⁸⁶:

[κυρ]ίω Ασκληπιῶ Στραμινηνῶ [— — — —]
[. . c.7. .]ΑΝΙΟΥΤΗΟΥ[— ε]ὐχαριστ[ήριον].

2.08. Beroia (Stara Zagora) Region

The most important finds from the Beroia region come from **Carasura**, while finds have also been discovered at **Augusta Traiana** (Stara Zagora), mainly in the form of inscriptions and coinage²⁸⁷. On the base of a statue of Hygieia there is a dedication by . From **Dobri Dol** there is an inscription with a dedication to Asclepius by Aurelios Dinias, son of Asklepiades²⁸⁸. From **Starozagorski Bani** we have a dedicatory inscription on a relief of Asclepius and Hygieia by a certain Kapetoleinos²⁸⁹. From **Vinarovo** we have a dedication to Asclepius as , by a certain Moukianos²⁹⁰.

2.09. Carasura (Rupkite)

Carasura was a station (*mutatio*) on the **Via Militaris**, the Roman road that ran from Singidunum (Belgrade) to Serdica (Sofia), Philippopolis, Adrianopolis, Byzantium (Constantinople) and then on to Asia Minor and the east²⁹¹. The site was favourable for the development of sanctuaries, mainly to serve the needs of travellers. Thus, in this area evidence has been found for the existence of sanctuaries of Apollo, Pluto, Asclepius and the Thracian Hero²⁹². Unfortunately, none of the evidence indicates if the above gods were worshipped at the same sanctuary or whether they had separate temples. The existence of the cult of Pluto, god of the Underworld, is very important, because we know that in the late Roman period *Ploutoneia* had become a kind of *Asklepieion*²⁹³. Even if we are not sure of the existence of a sanctuary to Asclepius, finds from this area are very interesting and in some cases they can be considered unique.

Inscriptions: An inscription on a limestone plaque refers to the *symposiastai*, symposiasts, of the god Asclepius²⁹⁴:

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
συνποσιασταὶ
θεοῦ Ασκληπιου
Γερμανος Γερμανου
5 Επτητραλις Μουκα(—?)
Κοτυς Δολης
Μουκατραλις Επτη(—?)
Ταρσας Σκεληνος
Πιστους Σκελου
10 Δολης Δειζεζενε(ος)
Μουκαβορι<ς> Αυλου(—?)

²⁸⁶ *IGBulg* IV: 2050.

²⁸⁷ Riethmüller 1999a, p.330; see also *IGBulg* III, 2: 1596.

²⁸⁸ *IGBulg* III, 2: 1700.

²⁸⁹ *IGBulg* III, 2: 1664.

²⁹⁰ *IGBulg* III, 2: 1641.

²⁹¹ For the Roman road system in Thrace see Madzarov 2009.

²⁹² Dontcheva 1988c, p. 147.

²⁹³ Rizakis- Touratsoglou 1999, p. 952

²⁹⁴ *IGBulg*, III, 2: 1626; see also Dontcheva 1988c, pp. 148-149, pl. 1.

Μουκαπορις Βρι(—?)
 Μουκαπορις Μουκα(—?)
 Μουκατ<ρ>αλις Δια(—?)
 15 Δολης Βει<θ>υος.

The inscription is very important because it informs us of the existence of a *thiasos*, a kind of worshipping society. We know that the offering of ritual meals during festivities in honour of Asclepius was a common practice. In the *Asklepieion* of Athens ritual meals were held in the building to the west of the god's sanctuary²⁹⁵. These ritual meals may have been connected with the *Theoxenia* that we know were celebrated at Epidaurus and possibly at Athens²⁹⁶. During the *Theoxenia*, worshippers left one of the beds full of food for the god²⁹⁷. We know of the existence of one society of worshippers at Thessaloniki, who are referred to as _____ and probably organised and participated in the celebrations for the god²⁹⁸. We can conclude that the twelve *symposiastai* of Asclepius from the inscription from Carasura organised sacrifices and *symposia*, feasts, in the god's honour.

In another inscription from **Vinatovo**²⁹⁹, near to Carasura, Asclepius is addressed as _____, health giver. Finally, mention should be made of the inscription on a limestone plaque in which Asclepius and Hygieia are addressed as _____³⁰⁰.

Statues: Of the other finds worth mentioning, the marble head of a statue of Telesphorus (H. 0.13m) is of good quality and may have belonged to a group of statues of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus³⁰¹.

The Relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider, Asclepius and Hygieia (pl.11b)

As has already been mentioned, the finds of the Carasura area, albeit few in number, are exceptionally interesting because of the information they provide about the cult of Asclepius. _____ particular find from Izvorovo³⁰² near Carasura in the municipality of Chirpan, reinforces our view. It is a relief, which is now on display in the Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv (Philippopolis). On this relief we have a depiction of the Thracian Rider, Asclepius and Hygieia. As far as its construction is concerned, this relief differs from all the others found in Thrace depicting the Thracian Rider or the healer gods. The plaque is unusually long, probably so as to give a better depiction of the scene. On the right-hand side of the relief there is a representation of the Thracian Rider moving calmly towards an altar, which is in the centre of the scene. Next to the altar stands Hygieia, in the well-known type, and beside her stands an Asclepius of the Este type. The only difference in this depiction of Asclepius is that he is extending an egg to the snake and not a phiale. The iconography of the relief is very important in providing evidence of the connection between the worship of the Thracian Rider (a local hero-god) and the healer gods.

²⁹⁵ Riethmüller 1999, p. 139.

²⁹⁶ Riethmüller 1999, p. 139 and for Athens see Beschi 1969, p. 399.

²⁹⁷ For the *Θεοξένια* see Jameson 1994, pp. 35-57.

²⁹⁸ Nigdelis 2006, pp. 145-146.

²⁹⁹ *IGBulg*, III, 2: 1641.

³⁰⁰ *IGBulg*, III, 2: 1628, see also Dontcheva 1988c, p. 151, pl. 3.

³⁰¹ Dontcheva 1988c, p. 152, pl. 4.

³⁰² The name of the site, Izvorovo, implies the existence of a spring.

2.10. Sliven Region, The Sanctuary of Asclepius at Kabyle

Kabyle was established during the occupation of Thrace by Philip II, and became an important commercial centre in south-eastern Thrace. The city was conquered by the Romans in 71 B.C. and a few decades later became part of the Roman province of Thrace.

Architectural Ruins: During the excavation of Basilica 1 in Sector X of **Kabyle**, sections of walls were found, in a poor state of preservation. The best-preserved section of wall is constructed with mortar and has a length of 5.10m and width of 0.80m. Because of the fragmentary state of the building it has not proved possible to identify its use³⁰³.

Inscriptions: Amongst the other finds from Kabyle it is worth mentioning a partially preserved relief with Asclepius and Hygieia and a dedication by the soldier³⁰⁴. From Kabyle we also have one of the few examples of a Latin inscription to Asclepius in Thrace: *Asclipi et Ygia sacrum*³⁰⁵.

Statues: The finds from the excavation are connected with the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia. For example, there is a good-quality marble statue of Asclepius of the Eleusis type (**pl. 12a**), though the head, the left hand with the rod and the lower part of the legs are missing. Another good-quality marble statue of Hygieia (**pl. 12b**), with missing head and parts of her hands, was found together with the statue of Asclepius and it is possible that both of them were made by the same sculptor and belonged to a statuary group³⁰⁶. From Kabyle comes another statuette of Asclepius, missing head, rod and lower part of the legs³⁰⁷.

Votive Reliefs: rare find of a relief on a base³⁰⁸ was also discovered. Unfortunately, this relief preserves only its lower section, although an altar and part of a snake entwined on a tree can be recognised. The base bears the inscription³⁰⁹ *Νάρκισσος Ζήνωνος ἐποίει*, which gives us the name of the sculptor, **Narkissos**, son of Zenon.

Finds connected with Physicians: At Kabyle the name of a physician, son of Dilaes, has been preserved on an altar from his tomb (?)³¹⁰. During the excavations of ancient Kabyle medical instruments were also found³¹¹.

2.11. Pautalia Region

The most important sanctuaries in the region of Pautalia are those at **Pernik** (Daskalovo) and in the city of **Pautalia** (Kyustendil). There are also indications of Asclepius cult at **Dolna Dikanya**, where an inscription has been found dating from the 2nd to 3rd century A.D. on a relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider in front of

³⁰³ Getov 2002, pp. 119-120; Dontcheva 2003, p. 221. For the excavation of Basilica 1 at Kabyle and the extension of the research to the north-west, see Dimitrov 1982, pp. 122-123.

³⁰⁴ Dontcheva 2003, p. 220, pl. 5.

³⁰⁵ Dontcheva 2003, p. 220.

³⁰⁶ Getov 2002, pp. 120- 121, pls. 1, 2, also Dontcheva 2003, p. 219- 221.

³⁰⁷ Dontcheva 2003, p. 219- 221.

³⁰⁸ Getov 2002, pp. 120- 121, pl. 3.

³⁰⁹ Getov 2002, p. 120.

³¹⁰ *IGBulg* III, 2: 1776.

³¹¹ Kirova 2010, p. 107.

the inscriptions Asclepius has the epithet ³²⁶. The inscription, which dates to 231 A.D. and is written on a statue base, concerns the dedication of a statue to Asclepius by Aurelios Heragenes, a *bouleutes* of the *boule* of the city of Serdica ³²⁷:

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
 κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ Κο[υλ]-
 κουσηνῷ Κεῖλαιδεουτῇ[ω]
 Αὐρ(ήλιος)· Ἡραγένῃς Ἡράνου [β(ουλευτῆς)]
 5 τῆς Σερωδων πόλεω[ς]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that, amongst the names of those making dedications to Asclepius, there also a number of local names, such as Moukazenis Dizatraleos ³²⁸, Aulouzenis ³²⁹. It is also significant that there are Roman soldiers amongst the dedicants giving thanks to Asclepius, such as Aurelios Markianos ³³⁰ and Aurelios Silbanos ³³¹. In one case there is a dedication in the name of the glorious (Roman) army by Ailios Moukianos ³³².

Reliefs: The syncretistic fusion of Asclepius and the local Thracian Rider is very obvious in the sanctuary at Daskalovo in the Pernik region, where there are a great number (over 120) of reliefs and statues of the Thracian Rider. On many of these reliefs there is also an inscription with a dedication to Asclepius. Most of these reliefs are small in size. On one relief plaque with a triangular top ³³³ the Thracian rider is depicted galloping towards an altar, while on the ground there is a crawling snake; above and below the relief there is an inscription ³³⁴ (pl.14b). Another example worth mentioning here is a relief plaque with an arched top ³³⁵, with small sections missing. The Thracian Rider is hunting with a raised spear, accompanied by a running dog, while there is an inscription on the frame above and below the relief ³³⁶. Finally

³²⁵ *IGBulg V*: 5815 and 5794 on a statue base:

[ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Μουκ[ιανός] ὠρδι(νάριος)]
 [— — — —]ς εὐχὴν θεῷ Ἀσκλη[πιῷ Κεῖλ]εδηνῷ
 [ὑπὲρ τῆς] μανίας ἀνέ[θηκα]

³²⁶ *IGBulg, IV*: 2125.

³²⁷ Aurelios Heragenes offered several statues and reliefs with a dedication to Asclepius. In another inscription on a statue base Heragenes thanks the god Asclepius, probably for his help: *IGBulg V*: 5815:

θεῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ Ἡρ[αγένῃς]
 Ἡράνου· β(ουλευτῆς)· εὐχα[ριστήριον].

³²⁸ *IGBulg V*: 5825.

³²⁹ *IGBulg V*: 5824.

³³⁰ *IGBulg V*: 5818

³³¹ *IGBulg V*: 5819.

³³² *IGBulg V*: 5855; 5856.1:

ἐνδόξου στρατιῆς δῶρον τόδε σοί, Ἀσκλη[πι]έ, ἰ εὐξά-
 μενος Αἴλιος Μουκιανός Καρρου χαριστό[ν τό]δ' ἅ- νέθηκα θεόν.

³³³ H. 0.45m W. 0.23m: see Oppermann 2006, p. 176, no. 396, also Boteva 2007, p. 77, pl.1.B.

³³⁴ *IGBulg V*: 5807:

κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ
 Πό(πλιος)· Καλπούρ(νιος)· Μίλων
 ἀνέθηκεν

³³⁵ H. 0.37m W. 0.27m: see Oppermann 2006, p. 176, no 399, also Boteva 2007, p. 77, pl. 2.

³³⁶ *IG Bulg V*: 5808:

κυρίῳ Ἀσ[κ]λ[η]πιῷ
 Καλπούρνιος Μ[ί]λων
 [εὐχ]αριστή[ριον].

worth mentioning the votive plaque relief with a triangular top and depiction of the Thracian Rider galloping with a spear towards an altar and a serpent-entwined tree³³⁷.

2.13. The *Asclepieion* of Asclepius Pautaliotes-Skalpenos at the City of Pautalia (Kyustendil)

The city of **Pautalia** (Kyustendil) is located near a complex of thermal springs in the Strymon valley. The city took its name from these springs. A sanctuary to Asclepius, probably along with one to Apollo, was located on the hill of Hissarlak, where, during the fourth century A. D., the city fortress was built³³⁸. The city was laid out over the lower part of the Hissarlak hill and today lies under the modern town of Kyustendil. The Roman baths of Pautalia were constructed during the 2nd to 3rd centuries A.D., with construction probably commencing during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.). The baths are considered to be the second largest Roman baths in Bulgaria after those of Odessos as their built area was approx. 3000 sq. m. The complex included six buildings supplied with a hypocaust internal heating system. A total of six areas have been investigated within an area of 1000 sq. m. All of these areas were equipped with a central heating system with columns and an arch-vault system of corridors. Among the ruins of the baths the *apoditerium*, *frigidarium* and *tepidarium* have been identified³³⁹.

The sanctuary on the Hissarlak hill and the sanctuary in the city of Pautalia

Even though there are no architectural ruins, coins from the reigns of Septimius Severus, Geta and Caracalla give a very good view of a **tetrastyle temple** on a wooden hill, and another **tetrastyle temple** at the foot of the hill. On the coins are also depicted three more shrines.

Even though a temple has never been found in the city of Pautalia, as the new town is built on top of its ruins, Kirova believes it very likely that a temple of Asclepius existed there, as votive reliefs with dedications to Asclepius and other gods have been found and some Corinthian-style architectural fragments in a Christian basilica might have belonged to a Roman temple. Kirova also argues that the existence of a sanatorium in the city was necessary for the patients that could not reach the top of the Hissarlak hill, where the main sanctuary of Asclepius was situated³⁴⁰. This suggestion is also supported by other archaeological finds which show that the sanctuary of Asclepius extended over the slopes and the summit of the Hissarlak hill, and a part of the architectural complex was set apart at the foot of the hill, although it was not completely separated from the town in the valley.

The main sanctuary on the Hissarlak hill included shrines of various gods and probably a sanatorium. The complex was constructed in the 2nd c. A. D. and remained in use during the third c. A.D. The *Asklepieion* in Pautalia, together with the other temples which were constructed in the vicinity, played an important role in the city's transformation into a religious centre.

An indication of the sanctuary's development into a health centre, connected with the use of the therapeutic thermal springs, is the find of bronze surgical instruments in a

³³⁷ *IGBulg V*: 5806, *SEG* 30.722, also Boteva 2007, p. 77, pl. 1.A.

³³⁸ Ivanov 1919-1220, pp. 66-124.

³³⁹ Ivanov 1919-1220, pp 68-69.

³⁴⁰ Kirova 2010, pp. 138-139.

tumulus at Dragodan, a district near Kyustendil, dated to the 2nd c. A. D. Another assemblage of various medical instruments in a bronze case was found at the village of Kotchenirovo, near Kyustendil, also dated to the 2nd c. A. D.³⁴¹

Statues: During the excavations sculptures of Asclepius were found, as well as of Apollo, Zeus and Hera. The dedications to Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus on the statue bases are numerous, amounting to 15 in total. It should be added that there are also dedications to Zeus, Hera, Hercules, Dionysus, Hermes, Artemis and the Thracian Hero.

Votive Reliefs: The votive reliefs in Pautalia share the same iconography as other sanctuaries of Asclepius. Most common are the reliefs with the depiction of the Thracian Rider and a dedication to Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus. The second most common type of relief consists of those with representations of Asclepius (**pl. 14c**), Asclepius with Hygieia, or only one example of Asclepius with Hygieia and Telesphorus (**pl. 15a**).

Inscriptions: There are inscriptions with dedications to Asclepius as ³⁴², or Asclepius ³⁴³: [κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῷ Σκαλπηνῶ, and also with dedications to Asclepius and Hygieia³⁴⁴.

Coinage: The coinage of Pautalia³⁴⁵ constitutes a special case as there is an impressively large number of issues depicting Asclepius and the other healing gods. The coins of Pautalia also preserve an image of the city's *Asklepieion* and a number of other shrines. In one case the Emperor Septimius Severus appears together with Asclepius holding a crater. The earliest coins are from the reigns of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.): Asclepius in a temple-Hygieia-Telesphorus-Asclepius and Hygieia; Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.): Asclepius in a temple-Telesphorus-Asclepius and Hygieia in a temple-snake; Lucius Verus (161-169 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia in a temple-snake; Commodus (180-192 A.D.): Asclepius in a temple-Hygieia-Telesphorus-Asclepius and Hygieia, and Telesphorus-snake; Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.): Asclepius in a temple-Hygieia-Asclepius and Telesphorus-Asclepius and Hygieia-snake-*Asklepieion* of Pautalia and other temples, and the Emperor with Asclepius; Geta (209-211 A.D.): Asclepius in a temple-Hygieia-Telesphorus-Telesphorus and Hygieia-snake-*Asklepieion* of Pautalia; Caracalla (198- 217 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia-Telesphorus-Asclepius and Hygieia-Asclepius and Hygieia and Telesphorus-snake-*Asklepieion* of Pautalia (obverse legend: AVT K M AVPH ANT C; obverse description: laureate head right; reverse legend: OV C VTA C; reverse description: figure within a tetrastyle temple set on a wooded acropolis; below, figure standing in a tetrastyle temple, figures in distyle shrines on

³⁴¹ Grigorova 2000, pp. 238-249.

³⁴² *IGBulg* IV: 2065

³⁴³ *IGBulg* IV: 2100

³⁴⁴ *IGBulg* IV: 2059; 2061

³⁴⁵ Kirova 2010, pp. 242-244.

either side of acropolis; to right at ground level, statue grouping consisting of three figures standing (**pl. 15b**).

3. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Lower Moesia **Epigraphic Evidence and Archaeological Finds (map 6)**

3.01 Cities in Lower Moesia: On the coast of Lower Moesia and in the ancient Greek cities **Istros** and **Kallatis** there is evidence for an early cult of Asclepius during the Hellenistic period in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C. The cult is also attested in the Greek colony of **Tomis**. In Lower Moesia the greatest centre of Asclepius cult, at least on the evidence of the archaeological finds, is in **Glava Panega**. Another important city where there is evidence for the cult of Asclepius is **Nicopolis ad Istrum**, together with the fortress of **Novae**.

There are also indications of the cult at **Barboshi**³⁴⁶, **Isperih**, where there is an inscription on a Thracian Rider relief³⁴⁷, **Lilyache**, inscription³⁴⁸, **Lipnitsa**, inscription to Asclepius on a Thracian Rider relief³⁴⁹, **Madara**³⁵⁰, **Marcianopolis** (Reka Devnya), inscriptions³⁵¹ and a great number of specialized medical instruments³⁵² (**pl.15c**), **Medovina**, inscription to Asclepius³⁵³, **Montana**³⁵⁴ (Mihailovgrad), **Vicus Trullensium** (Kunino) inscription with a dedication to Asclepius, (healer) Telesphorus and Hygieia³⁵⁵:

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. |
Ἀσκληπιῷ Παιᾶνι
Τελεσφόρῳ ἡδὲ Ὑγείᾳ |
Μάρκελλος τήνδε
5 χάριν ἐθέμην. |
εὐτυχῶς.

3.02. Istros (Histria)

At **Istros** there is early evidence confirming the cult of Asclepius in the form of an inscription dated to the 3rd c. B.C., which is a dedication to Asclepius by Apollonides³⁵⁶. In another inscription dated to the 2nd c. A.D. there is a dedication to Asclepius with the name³⁵⁷.

Coinage: Caracalla (198-217 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia-Telesphorus³⁵⁸.

Inscriptions referring to healers: An inscription³⁵⁹ of the 2nd c. B.C. provides us with information about Diokles, son of Artemidoros, a doctor who arrived in the city from Cyzicus. He held several lectures in the *gymnasion* in an effort to

³⁴⁶ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 334.

³⁴⁷ *IGBulg II*: 779.

³⁴⁸ *IGBulg II*: 485.

³⁴⁹ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 335.

³⁵⁰ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 335.

³⁵¹ *IGBulg II* 774; 763; 779.

³⁵² Kirova 2002, pp. 73-94.

³⁵³ *IGBulg II*: 763.

³⁵⁴ Riethmüller 1999a, p. 335.

³⁵⁵ *IGBulg II*: 504.

³⁵⁶ *ISCM I*: 124: [Ἀπολλωνίδης [— — — —]
[Ἀσκληπιῷ εὐ[χὴν] εὐ[χαριστήριον]
[— — Ἡρακ]λείδης .[— —]

³⁵⁷ *ISCM I*: 135: ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
Ἀσκληπιῷ
Περγαμηνῷ
Σαβεινιανός.

³⁵⁸ Kirova 2010, p. 254.

³⁵⁹ *ISCM I*: 26.

demonstrate his abilities and also with the aim of attracting clients. From the inscription it is obvious that the doctor was invited to the city by the *demos*, probably with the aim of improving local medical care. An inscription dated to the second half of the 2nd c. A.D., which was carved in honour of the city's benefactress, refers to the organisation of physicians serving the community³⁶⁰. The right for physicians to associate was recognised by decrees promulgated by Augustus and Vespasian³⁶¹.

3.03. Kallatis (Mangalia)

In **Kallatis** relatively early evidence exists confirming the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the form of an inscription containing their names, which also mentions the names of Dionysus, Hermes, Pan, Nymphae and Apollo³⁶², and is dated to the 2nd c. B.C. In an earlier inscription from the late 3rd c. B. C., concerning the construction of a temple, there are, amongst others, the theophoric names of Asklepiades, father of Simos, and the name Asklepiodoros³⁶³. In an inscription dated 238-244 A.D, we have the theophoric names of

Coinage: Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia; Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.): Hygieia; Philip I (244-249 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia.

3.04. Tomis (Costanta)

During the construction of a building in Constanta a group of statues and reliefs were discovered which is known as the 'treasury of sculpture'³⁶⁴. Amongst those of other divinities there is a statue of Asclepius. The statue lacks the right hand with the rod. Asclepius is presented with short hair and a beard, bending his left leg (**pl.16a**). Amongst the statues there is also one depicting the snake **Glycon (pl. 16b)**, which is associated with Asclepius. The snake Glycon is an artificial creation of the false prophet and healer Alexander³⁶⁵. Alexander started an oracular and mystery cult at Abanoteichos, which became widespread. The snake Glycon is usually represented with a head vaguely resembling that of a dog or sheep, long hair, human ears and a lion's tail, and is considered to be a reincarnation of Asclepius. The snake sculpture of Tomis is considered to be one of the few surviving iconographic documents³⁶⁶.

Coinage: In the city's coinage Asclepius appears during the reigns of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.): Asclepius; Marcus Aurelius (161-169 A.D.): Asclepius; Commodus (180-192 A.D.): Asclepius; Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia; Geta: Asclepius-Hygieia; Caracalla (198-211 A.D.): Asclepius- Hygieia; Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia; Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia; Maximus I (216-238 A.D.): Asclepius-

³⁶⁰ *IScM* I: 57.

³⁶¹ Aparaschivei 2010, p. 146.

³⁶² *IScM* III: 48, B.

³⁶³ *IScM* III: 35.

³⁶⁴ Alexandrescu- Vianu 2009, pp. 27-46

³⁶⁵ Alexander arrived at Pella where he bought the snake, see Chrysostomou 2002, p. 114, for the life of Alexander see also, Grimm 1988, pp. 169-181.

³⁶⁶ Alexandrescu- Vianu 2009, p.4, fig. 11. For representations of Asclepius and Zeus Meilichios as a snake, see Mitropoulou 1977, pp. 190-195.

Hygieia; Gordian III (238-244 A.D.): Asclepius-Hygieia; Philip I (244-249 A.D.): Asclepius and Philip II: Asclepius-Hygieia.

3.05. Nicopolis ad Istrum

Nicopolis ad Istrum was founded by Trajan, amongst other cities, after his victories over the Dacians *circa* 101-106 A.D. The city was established at the confluence of the Iatrus and Rositsa rivers, on the northern borders of Thrace and Lower Moesia³⁶⁷.

Statues: The most important find from Nicopolis ad Istrum that demonstrates the existence of Asclepius' cult is a statue of the god³⁶⁸ (**pl. 17a**). This statue, is one of the largest to have been found in Thrace as it is 1.83m high and its base 0.05m. The head, the right hand and the lower part of the leg are missing. A distinctive feature of the statue is the existence of two series of scrolls () connected by a ribbon at the base of the statue, where the left foot should be. The statue was found at a distance of 1 km to the north of the city's forum, in a rectangular building with an inner courtyard with porticoes, Dontcheva believes that a sanctuary to Asclepius may have existed in this part of the city³⁶⁹.

Coinage: Commodus (177-180 A.D.): Hygieia; Septimius Severus (193- 211 A.D.): Asclepius in temple-Hygieia-snake; Geta (209-211 A.D.): Asclepius in temple-snake; Caracalla (211-217A.D.):Asclepius in temple-Hygieia-Telesphorus-snake; Elagabalus (218-222A.D.): Asclepius in temple-Hygieia-Telesphorus-Asclepius and Telesphorus, Asclepius and Hygieia, snake (**pl. 17b**); Gordian III (238-244 A.D.): Asclepius (**pl. 17c**) -Asclepius in temple-Hygieia-snake³⁷⁰.

3.06. Novae (Svishtov)

Novae, near the modern town of Svishtov, on the Danube, evolved into a strategically important station for the Roman defence system in Moesia Inferior as a fortress of the Eighth Augustan Legion and later of the First Italic Legion. Excavations of the fortress have brought to light the headquarters building (*principia*), baths (*thermae*), the officers' residence, granaries (*horrea*), water tank, cavalry barracks and one of the largest known military hospitals (*valetudinaria*) from the Roman period³⁷¹.

Military Hospital (*valetudinarium*) (pl. 18): The building was constructed at the end of the first c. A.D. and remained in operation until the first half of the 3rd c. Its external measurements were 81.90 x 72.90m and it had an inner courtyard with porticoes. Two series of rooms lay around the courtyard³⁷².

³⁶⁷ For the position and foundation of the city see Ruscu 2007.

³⁶⁸ Ivanov 1992.

³⁶⁹ Dontcheva 1999, pp. 171-172.

³⁷⁰ Dontcheva 1999, pp 170-171, pl. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9. See also Kirova 2010, pp.255-256.

³⁷¹ For the plan of the fortress see Sarnowski and others 2008, p. 154, fig.1. For the excavations at Novae, see Dyczek and others 2001.

³⁷² For the organization of a *Valetudinarium* and the positioning of corridors with the rooms see Siegwart 2011, p. 18. For the organisation of Valetudinarium at Novae, see Dyczek 1997, pp.199-204 and Dyczek 2005, pp. 871-879.

The *Sacellum* of Aesculapius (pl. 19)

In the centre of the courtyard there was a *sacellum* dedicated to Asclepius (*Aesculapius*) and the healing deities. The small temple measures 2.46 x 2.60m. It was elevated on a low podium with steps leading up to the interior. There was a low wooden screen between the two columns in the front portico. The finds include a base that probably belonged to the columns of the façade. The height of the small temple, including the podium and the roof, would have been about 4m. Amongst the ruins inside the structure were found pieces of the original decoration, fragments of painted plaster with an indefinite polychrome pattern, bunches of grapes and small Corinthian capitals. Construction of the temple was begun in the late 1st c. A.D., as is evident from the coins that were found during the excavation and were in use until the reign of Caracalla, when the hospital was abandoned³⁷³.

Altars: In front of the *sacellum* was found the foundation of an altar and in front of it other altars, some of them bearing inscriptions.

Statuettes: A marble head of an Asclepius statuette and two silver statuettes, one of Hygieia and one of Asclepius, were found. The Hygieia statuette bears a Latin inscription on its base.

Inscriptions: There is one inscription in Greek with a dedication to Asclepius by a certain Diodoros. An inscription to *Hygiam*³⁷⁴ is dated to the 2nd c. A. D. and another one to *Hygiae Sacrum*³⁷⁵, dated to the first half of the 3rd c. A.D. Another inscription has a dedication to *Aesculapio et Hygiae legio I Italica*³⁷⁶. It is worth mentioning that there are also many inscriptions with dedications to the local god Sabazios and other deities³⁷⁷.

3.07. The Sanctuary of Asclepius Saldenos at Glava Panega, Lovec Region

At **Glava Panega**³⁷⁸ there is one of the most important sanctuaries of Asclepius, together with strong evidence for the existence and operation of an *Asklepieion*³⁷⁹. At Glava Panega Asclepius was worshipped under the epithet , as is shown by the great number of inscriptions³⁸⁰ on reliefs with the common depiction of the Thracian Rider or representations of Asclepius and Hygieia³⁸¹. There is an impressive number of different spellings of the epithet , with variants occurring in almost every inscription: *Ἀσκληπιῶ Σαλδηνῶ*³⁸²,

³⁷³ Dyczek 1999, pp. 495-500.

³⁷⁴ *IGL Novae*: 16

³⁷⁵ *IGL Novae*: 17

³⁷⁶ *IGL Novae*: 18

³⁷⁷ Dyczek 1999, pp. 495-500.

³⁷⁸ The Panega river valley in the Lukovit municipality lies almost 110 km north of Sofia, almost on the border between ancient Moesia and Thrace. The village of Panega is known for its Zlatna (Gold) Panega springs.

³⁷⁹ Dobruski 1907, pp. 3-86; see also Goceva 1995, pp. 141-156.

³⁸⁰ Apart from the inscriptions mentioned in the text, there are numerous others with the epiclesis to Asclepius found on the sanctuary: reliefs: *IGBulg* II: 511; 516- 517; 523; 525; 531; 533- 548; 550- 552; 571- 572; 574- 575; 577; 579. The inscriptions referring to Asclepius are almost 50 in total, and maybe more, if we add some that probably refer to the god.

³⁸¹ At the Glava Panega sanctuary no inscriptions have been found with dedications to Asclepius on statue bases or altars.

³⁸² *IGBulg* II: 510.

Ἀσκληπιῶι Σαλδοουσηνῶι³⁸³, κυρίῳ Σαλδοουσηνῶ³⁸⁴ and θεῶ Ἀσκληπιῶ Σαλτοβουσηνῶ³⁸⁵. As far as the etymology of the epithets and is concerned, Dobruski suggests that the compound derives from the Greek words and or ³⁸⁶. It should be pointed out that the ancient Greek word , or Dorian , means canyon or forested valley. The word , -abyssa may also be connected with this. The sanctuary is in fact located in a long, deep forested valley, and there also many caves and springs rising to the surface through a system of underground caves. It should also be borne in mind that *salus* () means health in Latin, but we cannot be sure of its connection with Asclepius' epithet.

Architectural ruins: During Dobruski's excavations in 1903, two buildings from the sanctuary were uncovered, Dobruski identified them as a **temple** and a sanatorium (**pl. 20**). The temple is a rectangular building, relatively small, measuring 5.70 x 7.70m. The building's entrance has been found, but there are no traces of its internal form. The second building is long, measuring 10.57 x 5.20m. This building probably served the needs of the pilgrim-patients that were staying at the sanctuary³⁸⁷.

Inscriptions: On two of the inscriptions Asclepius has the epiclesis of a god³⁸⁸: *θεῶι ἐπιθήκῳ Σαλτοβουσηνῶι*. The most common form of epiclesis is ³⁸⁹: *κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ Σαλδοουσηνῶι* or *κυρίῳ Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ὑγίᾳ*, while in one instance he is invoked as and : *κυρίῳ ἐπιθήκῳ Σαλδοουσηνῶι Ἀσκληπιῶ*³⁹⁰. In seven inscriptions Asclepius is mentioned together with Hygieia: *Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ὑγείᾳ*³⁹¹ or *Ἀσκληπιῶ καὶ Ὑγείῃ*³⁹². The god is also mentioned in a dedication with Artemis³⁹³: *κυρίοις Σαλδηνῶις Ἀσκληπιῶι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι*, and there is only one dedication to both Asclepius and Aphrodite³⁹⁴: *[Ἀσκλη]πιῶ καὶ Ἀφροδείτῃ χαριστήριον*. From these inscriptions it is also worth mentioning the dedication to ³⁹⁵: *Φλ(άβιος) Μεστριανὸς κυρίῳ Ἡρῶ Σολδοβουσηνῶι*.

Statuettes: A large fragment of a seated Asclepius statuette exists³⁹⁶, which lacks the head, right foot and right hand (**pl. 21a**). The statuette probably belonged to a group of statuettes including the figures of Hygieia and Telesphorus because it is in the same style as these found at Batkun.

³⁸³ *IGBulg II*: 512.

³⁸⁴ *IGBulg II*: 521.

³⁸⁵ *IGBulg II*: 526.

³⁸⁶ Dobruski 1907, p. 26.

³⁸⁷ Dobruski 1907, pp. 5-7.

³⁸⁸ *IGBulg II*: 530; 526.

³⁸⁹ *IGBulg II*: 514; 519.

³⁹⁰ *IGBulg II*: 517.

³⁹¹ *IGBulg II*: 522.

³⁹² *IGBulg II*: 515; the other inscriptions are *IG Bulg. II*: 514, 520, 527, 529, 549.

³⁹³ *IGBulg II*: 566, Artemis is mentioned in some more inscriptions from the sanctuary.

³⁹⁴ *IGBulg II*: 569 Aphrodite is also mentioned in some more inscriptions from the sanctuary.

³⁹⁵ *IGBulg II*: 587.

³⁹⁶ *LIMC II*, Asklepios (In Thracia), p. 898, L. 6; see also Dobruski 1907a, p.39.

Votive Reliefs: The largest category of finds from the sanctuary consists of reliefs, numbering 126 in all, many of which must have been left around the temple walls. These reliefs can be divided into categories according to their iconography and inscriptions. Glava Panega has one of the most comprehensive collections of votive reliefs, which can provide us with a good general idea of the cult of Asclepius and his syncretistic fusion with the local Hero, the Thracian Rider.

Reliefs depicting Asclepius: The first and largest category of votive reliefs consists of those with only a depiction of Asclepius and a dedicatory inscription. Some of these are of very good quality, with a deep relief and fine details. To this category belongs a relief where Asclepius is depicted with long hair and beard and a thick body; his right hand proffering an egg to the snake³⁹⁷ (**pl. 21b**). There is a dedicatory inscription at the top and below the relief. Unfortunately, the quality of work on this relief is not repeated in the others. Another relief with a depiction of Asclepius has a shallow relief and a few work details. Asclepius has short hair and a thick but unaccentuated body and his right hand holds the rod, which is tilted to the side (**pl. 21c**). There is a dedicatory inscription at the top and below the relief³⁹⁸.

Reliefs depicting Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus: The second, also large, category of votive reliefs consists of those representing Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus, most of which have dedications. The quality, as in the former category, also varies from indifferent to good. On these reliefs Asclepius stands in the middle of the representation, with Hygieia in her common type standing on his right feeding the snake and Telesphorus in his usual type standing on his left. Of especial interest is an arched upper relief plaque of fine workmanship. Apart from the gods, serpents are also depicted in great detail and deep relief³⁹⁹ (**pl. 22a**). In two cases in this category Asclepius is depicted standing at the right-hand side of the representation, while Telesphorus is in the middle and Hygieia is on the left⁴⁰⁰.

Thracian Rider: A third category consists of several reliefs with a depiction of the Thracian Rider and an inscription with a dedication to Asclepius. In this category we have a relief with a dedication⁴⁰¹ to the *θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ Σαλτοβυσσηνῶ*. It is a votive plaque with an arched top portraying the Thracian Rider holding a deer which is being attacked by a lion and a dog. The scene is supplemented by a depiction of a vessel pouring liquid and two standing women; in addition, there is a frieze with animals fighting. On another votive plaque with an arched top a galloping Thracian Rider is portrayed hunting a boar, with an altar and an entwined snake in front of him⁴⁰² (**pl. 22b**). On a rectangular relief with a dedication to Asclepius, the Thracian

³⁹⁷ Dobruski 1907, p. 34, pl. 7.

³⁹⁸ Dobruski 1907, p. 35, pl. 8.

³⁹⁹ Dobruski 1907, p. 43, pl. 16.

⁴⁰⁰ Dobruski 1907, p. 46, pl. 18, 19.

⁴⁰¹ *IGBulg* II: 530.

⁴⁰² Dobruski 1907, p. 61, pl. 32.

rider is portrayed moving towards an entwined snake and a woman⁴⁰³ (**pl. 23a**). A fourth category, or subcategory, consists of reliefs with the representation of the Thracian Rider but without a dedicatory inscription to Asclepius or any other god. The iconography of the Thracian Rider in these plaques is no different to that in the other categories mentioned above.

⁴⁰³ Dobruski 1907, p. 68, pl. 40.

PART D

1. The Cult of Asclepius and Other Healing Deities in Thrace and Lower Moesia: Researching a Phenomenon

1.01. The Organisation of the *Asklepieia*

As was mentioned earlier, Asclepius' cult became widespread, notably after Thrace had become a Roman province. This can be seen in the pre-existing cities on the Thracian coast, such as **Mesembria** and **Odessos**, the re-established cities, such as **Philippopolis Serdica** and **Kabyle**, and the newly-founded cities, such as **Nicopolis ad Istrum** and **Pautalia**. During the same period Asclepius' sanctuaries experienced significant development in both suburban and rural areas such as **Batkun**, **Slivnitsa**, **Pernik** and **Glava Panega**. Because of the existence of these rural shrines, we are able to form a relatively clear picture of the organisation, function and development of the sanctuaries and the *Asklepieia*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to form a similar picture of the urban sanctuaries and *Asklepieia*, as most of these cities continued to be inhabited, and so far the excavations of these sites have been limited and incomplete. Of the suburban or rural sanctuaries, the *Asklepieion* of **Asclepius Keiladenos** at Daskalovo in the Pernik region gives us the clearest picture of a sanctuary's construction and function. The sanctuary is surrounded by a rectangular wall, with its entrance on the west side. On the east side of the sanctuary was the temple of Asclepius and, in front of it, the altar. Porticoes within the enclosure wall probably served as areas for hosting the pilgrims, sanatorium, or as *abaton* and . Roughly the same configuration can be seen in the sanctuaries at **Slivnitsa** and **Glava Panega**.

Altars have been found at Slivnitsa (in situ in front of the temple and in a poor condition), Batkun (with dedications to Asclepius), Varvara (with one dedication to Asclepius) and Pernik. Altars have also been found in several other places, though without any trace or ruins of a sanctuary or temple.

Statues and statuettes of Asclepius have been found in all of the sanctuaries of Asclepius in Thrace and at the same sanctuaries there are often statues of Hygieia and, less frequently, of Telesphorus. Three interesting free-standing groups of statues come from Batkun, and are probably the only sculptural works in Thrace where Asclepius is represented seated. The usual type for the sculptures of Asclepius is the well-known Graeco-Roman type and most of the sculptures in this category are of the Este and Giustini types. The statues of Hygieia are, likewise, of the well-known Graeco-Roman type, in which the goddess is portrayed standing and feeding the serpent from a phiale. The same applies to the statues of Telesphorus, which are very few in number. The number of statue bases probably exceeds that of the statues themselves and almost every one of them carries a dedication to Asclepius, Hygieia, Telesphorus or even other gods.

Votive reliefs are the most common type of find in the sanctuaries or elsewhere. There are two kinds of relief. The first category consists of reliefs that depict Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus, and these usually also have a dedication to god. They rarely exceed 0.35m in height and 0.30m in width. Most of them have an arched top and a frame used for the inscription above and below the relief. The relief is usually shallow and of poor quality, although occasionally the quality of the sculpture may be considered very good. As far as the iconography is concerned, we have depictions of Asclepius (in the common types mentioned above); Hygieia; Asclepius and Hygieia; and Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus. The other large category of reliefs consists of those of the Thracian Rider, with or without a dedicatory inscription to Asclepius or other gods.

1.02. The Thracian Rider

The image of the Thracian Rider⁴⁰⁴ is dominant in all Thracian sanctuaries, at least during the second and third centuries A.D. Although the number of reliefs depicting the Thracian Rider is huge, amounting to almost 3000, the forms of the reliefs and their iconography are very limited. The plaques rarely exceed 0.30m in height and 0.40m in width. The majority of them have an arched top and a frame surrounding the relief. This frame is used for the votive inscriptions. The basic scene consists of a depiction of a rider, turned to the right, seldom to the left. His horse is either galloping, walking, or standing still. According to the rest of the iconography, the reliefs are grouped into categories by type, or even subcategories.

In the first type, **Type A**⁴⁰⁵, the rider is depicted on a walking or standing horse, facing a woman or an altar or a snake-entwined tree. Sometimes there is a combination of the three: thus the rider can be facing an altar and a serpent-entwined tree⁴⁰⁶, or a woman and an altar⁴⁰⁷, or a woman, an altar and a serpent-entwined tree⁴⁰⁸. In some cases in this category, there is more than one female figure⁴⁰⁹. In one special case, the Thracian Rider is depicted standing in front of an altar, Asclepius and Hygieia⁴¹⁰. This case will be discussed in more detail below as it is directly connected with the cult of Asclepius.

⁴⁰⁴ The notion of "Le Cavalier Thrace" was introduced by A. Dumont in 1876; see Boteva 2011, p. 85. In the English bibliography we find the terms 'Hero Equitans', 'Thracian Horseman' and 'Thracian Rider'. Boteva believes that the basic difference between the Hero Equitans and the Thracian Horseman is that the Hero Equitans comes from a long Greek tradition on the funerary reliefs and the Thracian Horseman is a local variation or Thracian "invention", which appears mainly on votive reliefs, and had a wide distribution for about two centuries; see Boteva 2011, p. 99.

⁴⁰⁵ For Type A see Oppermann 2006, pp. 8-30, nos. 1-339.

⁴⁰⁶ Oppermann 2006, nos. 174, 299.

⁴⁰⁷ Oppermann 2006, no. 184.

⁴⁰⁸ Oppermann 2006, nos. 11, 14.

⁴⁰⁹ Oppermann 2006, nos. 108, 109, 115.

⁴¹⁰ Oppermann 2006, no. 84.

In the second type, **Type B**, the Thracian Rider is depicted galloping on a horse while hunting a boar, usually accompanied by a dog⁴¹¹. Very often the scene is supplemented by the image of an altar (in most cases), a woman, a snake-entwined tree or a combination of these. A variation of this type, which appears on several reliefs, is the Thracian Rider with a raised spear without any additional image⁴¹².

In the third type, **Type C**⁴¹³, the Thracian Rider is depicted returning from a hunt, carrying a deer. There are many variants of this type and it may be regarded as a sub-type of Type B⁴¹⁴. In this third type the basic scene is enriched with multi-figure compositions or accompanied by reliefs on frames with hunting scenes⁴¹⁵.

In the inscriptions the Thracian Rider is called , , , , as well as Apollo, Asclepius, Hephaistos and the Dioskouroi. He also has several other names and epithets, such as *Karabasmos*, *Manimazos*, *Vetespios*, *Aularchenos*, *Aulosadenos* and *Pyrmeroulas*, which seems to have a local use⁴¹⁶. Despite the large number of the finds and the evidence they provide, it seems that they have not yet been able to answer a simple question that has preoccupied researchers for some time, namely the question of the origin and nature of the Thracian Rider. Even though the identity of the Thracian Rider is still unknown, at least some aspects of his origin have been documented. The prevailing view, held by most researchers, is that the Thracian Hero originates in the Greek tradition of the heroised dead. Some scholars have also interpreted certain rider reliefs in Macedonia as the prototypes of the Thracian Rider⁴¹⁷, while others have proposed that this tradition spread to central and northern Thrace, along the Aegean and Black Sea coasts of Thrace⁴¹⁸.

In Greek tradition the cult of the heroised dead can be traced back to the eighth century B.C. and there are even indications of a Mycenaean origin through the cult of the dead⁴¹⁹. In the Homeric epics we have a description, in full detail, of the descent of Odysseus into Hades () and his sacrifices to the ghosts of the dead. Farnell maintains that these offerings clearly indicate a form of worship⁴²⁰. We can see that Homer himself was willing to admit the possibility of a mortal becoming divine and immortal; thus Hercules becomes part god and part ghost and the Dioskouroi demigods. Homer knew that there was a cult of Achilles, but in his work allows Achilles merely to occupy a position of superiority and power amongst the shadows of the dead⁴²¹. Farnell concludes that Homer knew about the *Hero* cult and

⁴¹¹ Oppermann 2006, pp. 31-67, nos. 340-879.

⁴¹² Oppermann 2006, nos. 800, 801, 802, 804, 808, 811.

⁴¹³ Oppermann 2006, pp. 68-75, nos. 880-1036.

⁴¹⁴ Dimitrova 2002, p. 210.

⁴¹⁵ Oppermann 2006, nos. 894, 897, 917.

⁴¹⁶ Dimitrova 2002, p. 210.

⁴¹⁷ Petsas 1978, pp. 192- 204.

⁴¹⁸ Koukoulis-Chrysanthaki, Malamidou 1989, p. 554, with some references to the previous Greek bibliography.

⁴¹⁹ Nilsson 1967, pp. 378-383.

⁴²⁰ Farnell 1996, p. 26-27.

⁴²¹ Farnell 1996, p. 31.

the occasional deification of the dead, but it is not obvious if he accepted this practice⁴²². Of all the numerous heroes in Greek mythology, some were worshipped once as and in other times and places as . Their myths can also have a divine origin or simply spring from a human heroic type. The heroised dead possess the attributes of a local *hero*, who, even from his own grave, can wield a benign or destructive power. During the Hellenistic period this practice became very widespread, and it was common for a city to decide to honour and worship a dead man, which resulted in his becoming a *hero*. These heroes are usually connected with a specific area and possess an epithet that declares the name of the place or a quality⁴²³. It is clear that the image of the heroised dead man, usually depicted with or mounted on a horse, had already reached the Thracian hinterland by the Hellenistic period, as a few finds show. In our opinion, the reason for the amazing dissemination of the cult of the heroised dead in the Thracian hinterland during the last few centuries of Roman rule has still not been satisfactorily explained.

1.03. Thracian Tradition: The Case of Zalmoxis and Rhesus

It has been widely accepted that the image of the heroised dead was attractive to the Thracians. The Thracians were preoccupied with beliefs in immortality and the way to attain it⁴²⁴. A very well-known literary account comes from Herodotus⁴²⁵: In this text Herodotus describes what he heard from the Greeks who lived in the Black Sea concerning the religious beliefs of the Thracians and the Getae and their god *Zalmoxis*⁴²⁶: These peoples claim to be immortal and they show it in their belief that a dead person goes to the god *Zalmoxis* or *Gebeleizis*, as some of them call him. Every five years they send an envoy, chosen by lot among them, to *Zalmoxis*, informing him each time of their needs. After this, Herodotus describes the way in which the envoy is chosen: he has to pass a survival test in which spears are thrown at him. Plato also discusses *Zalmoxis* and the Thracian methods of healing in *Charmides*⁴²⁷, where Socrates talks about the state of medicine in his day and mentions Thracian physicians and their belief in *Zalmoxis* and his ability to make people immortal. The Thracians refer to *Zalmoxis* as their king, who is a god. Pomponius Mela gives more information, considering the Thracians as savage individuals who delight in meeting the dead. Some of them believe that the souls of the dead return; others believe that

⁴²² Farnell 1996, p. 31.

⁴²³ Burkert 1993, p. 428.

⁴²⁴ Ustinova 2004-2005: pp. 41-46.

⁴²⁵ Herodotus 4.94:

Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἑωυτοὺς νομίζουσι ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελείζιν· διὰ πεντετηρίδος τε τὸν πάλω λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ῥίπτουσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἢν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνῃ ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ ἵλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοι μὴ ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. οὔτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρηκῆες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

⁴²⁶ Eliade 1972, pp. 257-302.

⁴²⁷ Plato, *Charmides*, 156D-157B.

they (the souls) do not perish, even if they do not return, while others believe that souls die, which is better than if they continued to live. For this reason some lament birth and newborn babies; in contrast, burials have a festive character and are celebrated like sacred rites with songs and games⁴²⁸. Regarding the life of *Zalmoxis*, Porphyrius⁴²⁹ states that the Greeks who live near the Hellespont and the Pontus say that *Zalmoxis* had been a slave of Pythagoras. When he returned home to Thrace, he built a hall (), feasted there with the most illustrious of his countrymen and taught that neither he nor they or their descendants would die. In the meantime *Zalmoxis* built himself an underground chamber, and lived in it for three years. In the fourth year he returned to the Thracians, who had been mourning for him during his absence, and managed to persuade them that he had died and risen again. Strabo⁴³⁰ states that *Zalmoxis*, after he was released by Pythagoras, arrived in the land of the Getae and managed to impress them with his mantic talents. In the end, he became a priest of the Getae's gods until he himself was also declared a god. He lived in a cavernous mountain, which became sacred. Strabo also⁴³¹ includes *Zalmoxis* with *Amphiaraus*, *Trophonius*, *Orpheus* and *Musaeus*, who were famous for their mantic and thaumaturgic powers.

Ustinova believes that the high priest of *Zalmoxis* was his substitute on earth and that a belief existed that *Zalmoxis* endowed his priests with the power of healing, and they were known as physicians⁴³². Aside from any kind of connection with, or influence on, the Thracian cult, the myth of *Zalmoxis* and his immortality corresponds with the myth of Asclepius, who was the first to succeed in resurrecting a dead person, thus attaining the pinnacle of healing power, something which could not have escaped the attention of the gods.

In the tragedy of *Rhesus*, traditionally attributed to Euripides, when the *Muse*, mother of *Rhesus*, king of Thrace, learns about his death, she declares that he will not go under the earth but that he will live as a spirit in human form (, -man-godø). The *Muse* also says that *Rhesus* will inhabit a subterranean cavern somewhere in Mt. Pangaeum for eternity and that he is going to be a prophet of Bacchus. Philostratus gives an account of the *Rhesus* cult⁴³³, presenting *Rhesus* as a hunter, warrior and horse-breeder. *Rhesus* was considered a **healer**, like *Zalmoxis*, and he removed the pestilence from the mountain where he lived. The lack of evidence for the cult of *Rhesus* and the wide distribution of the cult of the Thracian Rider has led some scholars to propose, tentatively, that they should be identified as the same god⁴³⁴. In this direction, Liapis discusses the etymological origin of the name *Rhesus*, for which he proposes the meaning of ðlordø with the Thracian Rider

⁴²⁸ Pomponius Mela, *De Chorographia* 2.18.

⁴²⁹ Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.* 14.

⁴³⁰ Strabo 7.3.5.

⁴³¹ Strabo 7.67.

⁴³² Ustinova 2009, p. 270.

⁴³³ Philostratus, *Heroicus*, p. 680.

⁴³⁴ Liapis 2011, p. 98.

usually being addressed as or . Taking one step further, Liapis believes that the Thracian Riderø (Heroø) appellations evince a special connection with the healing gods Apollo and Asclepius, as both of them possess healing powers.

1.04. The Syncretism between Asclepius and the local Thracian Rider or Hero.

Regardless of whether it is possible to accept the Thracian Riderø identification with *Rhesus*, or the long, domestic tradition of the immortal healer *Zalmoxis*, the cult of Asclepius ó also as Apollo ó found fertile ground in which to grow. We have already mentioned the inscriptions on the reliefs of the Thracian Rider, where the latter is called , , , and also Apollo, Asclepius, Hephaistos and Dioskouroi. Even more curious is a relief of the Thracian Rider with an inscription addressed to the Nymphae.

This coexistence or fusion of the local Thracian Rider and the Greek gods, especially Asclepius, supports the theory of syncretism, which is very clear in the following finds. On one (or perhaps more than one) relief from Glava Panega, Asclepius is portrayed on a galloping horse with a crawling snake by the horseø hooves. Almost the same representation exists on a relief from Batkun, the difference being that the mounted Asclepius holds an entwined-serpent staff in which the serpent is depicted with a beard (**pl. 23b**). It is very obvious that the sculptor has taken the characteristics of the two gods and fused them together.

On the other hand, this reality is more questionable and at the same time more interesting in the plaque relief from Chirpan. In this relief the Thracian Rider, depicted on a calmly walking horse, faces an altar with a burning fire, while in his right hand he holds a *phiale*. Beside the altar stand Hygieia and Asclepius, portrayed frontally. There is no inscription on the relief but the representation itself is strikingly clear. first reading of the representation suggests that there is a distinct role for the gods included in this synthesis. Both the Thracian Rider and Asclepius are depicted separately, accompanied by their symbols. It is obvious that the dedicant had a clear understanding of the godsø different natures and roles.

Studying these two different options, Dontcheva has concluded that at the urban sanctuaries the Graeco-Roman tradition prevailed, a fact evident in the more formal Hellenistic iconography, while in most of the remoter rural sanctuaries Asclepiusø cult was more closely connected with that of the Thracian Rider, chiefly in the form of the Great God, Saviour and Healer⁴³⁵. We personally believe that the archaeological finds and inscriptions undoubtedly testify to the existence of Asclepiusø cult in the sanctuaries of the Thracian Rider and vice versa. However, in almost every case the differences between the two gods are conspicuous as Asclepius always displays the characteristics that are familiar in Greek art and, most importantly, brings together all those distinct properties which helped the establishment and diffusion of his cult.

⁴³⁵ Dontcheva 2002, p. 318.

Conclusions

1. The Cult of Apollo Iatros in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions.

The cult of Apollo arrived on the Black Sea coasts at the same time as the Milesian colonists. His cult spread immediately and in a large number of cities came to occupy a dominant position in relation to the other cults. Amongst the numerous powers and attributes that characterised the god in the Greek world, for some reason the colonies on the western and northern shores of the Black Sea, amongst other epithets, also chose that of *Ἰητρός*, *Ietros* or *Ἰατρός*, *Iatros* (healer)⁴³⁶.

A question of great significance is exactly in what capacity Apollo was worshipped as *Iatros*; that is to say, whether the god was worshipped as a doctor, a healer of the diseases that afflict mankind, or in a more general way, as a god with a generally apotropaic function, a god who banished any *miasma* (defilement or pollution) that might strike the city. It looks as if Apollo fulfilled both of these roles and may have combined them in himself. If there are several other cases in which the god was worshipped for similar attributes in the Greek world, and such cases have already been mentioned in the introduction, this specific case was encountered in the bibliography as a remarkable and almost unique phenomenon.

In the Greek world, from the 5th century B.C. onwards, many of Apollo's sanctuaries gradually came to include temples of Asclepius and eventually took the form of *Asklepieia*. The joint worship of the father and the son was very common from the 4th century B.C. until the late Roman period. In this direction, it would be interesting to determine whether some of the sanctuaries of Apollo Iatros functioned as oracles and evolved into *Asklepieia* over the course of the centuries.

Searching in this direction, we know that there are certain features that can characterise the organisation of a sanctuary as a place of treatment. Those places which are recognised as *Asklepieia* function according to specific rules. Besides the altar and the temple, the most important place is the *abaton* or *egkoimeterion*. The *egkoimeterion* is the place where the patient has a metaphysical experience and is given the opportunity to take indispensable advice for his healing directly from the god, or even to feel his miraculous touch. The only precondition for this is that one should have fulfilled all the ritual requirements and been cleansed before entering the room where one was going to sleep while awaiting the god's appearance⁴³⁷. Of course, it is very important to research the political and economical circumstances in which these cities adopted the cult of Apollo Iatros. Equally important is the nature of their relations with the islands of the Aegean and the Greek mainland during the

⁴³⁶ In the majority of inscriptions, the god's epithet is written in the Ionic form *Ἰητρός*. This form was in use until late antiquity, mainly in epigrams; see Karamitrou-Moschakis 2013, p. 17.

⁴³⁷ Evidence of these places are the inscriptions expressing requests and thanks, the offering of reliefs with representations of cured parts of the human body, and even propagandistic stories about miraculous healings

centuries following colonisation, in order to see whether conditions were ripe for this kind of development.

At Olbia, where two great sanctuaries of the god Apollo have been unearthed, there are indications of the way in which these sanctuaries were organised, including sacrificial altars, water cisterns and a *hestiatorion*, probably for the ritual meals⁴³⁸. Even if all these structures were to constitute an *Asklepieion*, there is no evidence that they formed part of the sanctuaries of Apollo Iatros and Apollo Delphinios. Asclepius himself appears in the city's religious life in the 3rd c. B.C, judging from the archaeological finds and the existence of a later temple from the Roman period⁴³⁹.

At Panticapaeum, there have survived architectural remains of a sanctuary to Apollo Iatros. Evidence of its possible development exists in the form of an inscription⁴⁴⁰ dating from the 4th c. B.C. which refers to the two gods together: [Ἀπόλλωνι] καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶνι. At Panticapaeum the local aristocracy was directly connected with the cult of Apollo Iatros, a fact that is clearly evident in inscriptions showing that its eminent members served as priests in the god's temple. The cult was probably exploited for political purposes by the Spartocid kings as a means of strengthening the union of the cities of Cimmerian Bosphorus under their dynasty.

The case of Apollonia Pontica is very important because the cult of Apollo Iatros has the longest proven history as the god is mentioned on an inscription dating from the 1st-2nd c. A.D. Unfortunately, due to the continued habitation of the sites where evidence of the cult has been found, excavations have been unable to reveal many details of the organisation of the sanctuaries there. At Apollonia there is no evidence for Asclepius' cult as the god appears only on the coinage of the second quarter of the 2nd c. A.D.

Concerning Apollo's attribute as Iatros, in our opinion the answer should be sought in Olbia. In the first settlement on Berezan Island we have the earliest evidence for the cult and also clear evidence of an attempt to establish it as the dominant cult after the construction and reconstruction of the Western Temenos at Olbia. This attempt lasted for almost eighty years and was never abandoned, even when the cult of Apollo Delphinios gained predominance in the city. At Olbia the cult arrived from Miletus, where the god was worshipped as Oulios, which basically has the same meaning as Iatros. This probably excludes the existence of the cult of Apollo Ietros at Miletus, for which there is no evidence anyway. Thus, it seems that the differentiation between *Oulios* and *Ietros* derives from a decision made by the first settlers of Berezan Island, who may have sought to indicate their distinction from the metropolis through this slight change. There are a number of views regarding the reasons for this differentiation, including the view that the cult of Iatros was suggested

⁴³⁸Rusjaeva 2010, pp. 67-69.

⁴³⁹See the section on the cult of Asclepius in Olbia, in this paper.

⁴⁴⁰For the inscription and its attempted restoration see the section on the cult of Asclepius in Panticapaeum, in this paper.

by the oracle at Didyma⁴⁴¹, and the view that the cult was influenced by indigenous beliefs. Ustinova supports the latter view, stressing the Greek knowledge of Thracian and Scythian beliefs on immortality and the healing abilities of the Thracian and Scythian gods⁴⁴². In contrast, Rusjaeva maintains that in the first stadium of the Greek settlements in the area there is no evidence of any cultural interaction with the indigenous people. The same author also observes that the 'invisible' Scythian gods, who lacked an anthropomorphic form, were distinctly unlike the humanised and idealised Greek images of gods⁴⁴³.

It is obvious that the first generations of settlers in the Northern Black Sea region would have to face privations and a radically different climate from the one they had known in their homeland, a fact that is evident in the existence of dug-out houses. The mortality rate would have increased greatly at first and then probably took a few decades to level off. Within this frame, the adoption of the cult of Apollo Iatros, could be considered as an expected one.

2.The cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Black Sea region

In any search for evidence of the presence of Asclepius and Hygieia in the cities of the northern Black Sea region, it soon becomes obvious that there are two phases in the development of the cult. During the first phase, which can be clearly traced in Chersonesus, Olbia and Panticapaeum, the cult was introduced into these remote northern cities during the 4th century B.C. This fact is very important if we take into account the fact that the cult was introduced into Athens only in the late 5th century B.C., in about the year 420-419. This at least is a sign of strong cultural relations between the cities of the northern Black Sea region and the Greek islands and mainland. Moreover, the existence in Olbia of statues of Asclepius and Hygieia that are connected with the school of Skopas and the school of Alexandria or the physician Eukles from Tenedus, who lived and worked in Chersonesus, corroborate this. There is no evidence from this first period concerning the organisation of temples or sanctuaries to Asclepius. In the graffiti at Panticapaeum which refers to Apollo and Asclepius, there is a possibility or suspicion that the two gods coexisted in the same temple, maybe in a pre-existing temple of Apollo, but this is only a hypothesis that needs to be verified by excavation finds. During the Roman period and especially after the 1st century A.D, the cult reappeared, a fact for which there is strong evidence, such as the inscription of Iulianos, whose reconstruction or repair of the temples of the sanctuary and the *stoa* benefited the city of Olbia. This act could in itself be regarded as strong evidence of the difficulties that the city had faced in the past.

At Panticapaeum the god's temple is mentioned by Strabo, yet there is also a rural sanctuary on the Temir Gora, near natural springs. Stratodemos's inscription confirms the common ritual practices that existed in the territories where the cult had spread.

It is surprising that the expansion of the cult in the cities of the northern Black Sea region does not seem to have been very wide since, apart from the small number

⁴⁴¹ Vinogradov-Rusjaeva 1980, p. 30.

⁴⁴² Ustinova 2011, pp. 265-278.

⁴⁴³ Rusjaeva 2007, p. 95.

of finds, there are also many Greek cities that are absent from the list mentioned above. This absence raises questions as we know that Apollo's cult was widespread in the area, in which Apollo was not only worshipped as *ἰατρεὺς*, 'healer'. We also know that the cult of Asclepius was welcomed in pre-existing sanctuaries of Apollo. An attractive explanation would be that the intense and particularly dynamic tradition of Apollo's cult allowed no room for the newly-arrived god of medicine to become established. This could be a logical explanation for the important growth of Asclepius' cult in the Dorian Chersonesus, but in any case there is no firm basis for this hypothesis, in terms of archaeological or any other kind of data.

As for the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Southern Black Sea region, it is a fact that all the evidence dates from Roman times. It is impossible to say if this is so because of the lack of excavations and archaeological finds or because the cult really was introduced into the region at such a late period. We may suppose that because of the region's proximity to the Greek world it is rather unlikely that the cult was unknown during the Hellenistic period, not to mention earlier. During the Roman period, the cult can be found at both urban and rural sites in the region, presenting the same characteristics as those it displays in the rest of the Greek world under Roman domination.

Asclepius' cult spread throughout the region of Thrace, chiefly during the second and third centuries A.D., as a phenomenon that was particularly associated with local tradition and the influences of Graeco-Roman culture. The uniqueness of the Thracian sanctuaries lies primarily in the coexistence of the Thracian Rider with gods from the Greek pantheon, including Apollo, Asclepius, Dionysus, the Dioscuri and others. As far as Asclepius is concerned, his cult was practised in an area extending from the coast of Odessos to the region north of the Rhodope range and the valleys of Western Thrace. A common feature in all those areas where sanctuaries to Asclepius have been found is the existence of natural, and in many cases, healing springs. In most cases, during the Roman era *thermae* were built near these cities and very often these functioned alongside the sanctuaries to Asclepius, or perhaps even in conjunction with them.

This unique phenomenon of the wide diffusion of the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Thrace and Lower Moesia does not appear to have been repeated in the neighbouring regions, where the cult was evidently accepted to a lesser degree by the local population. The inscriptions to Asclepius and Hygieia, some of which have been presented in this paper, approach, or may even exceed, 500 in number. In contrast, the number of inscriptions from Macedonia, including those from both Hellenistic and Roman times, barely amount to 50. The difference is even greater if we compare Thrace and Lower Moesia with their neighbouring regions. The same disproportion is also clear in the case of the votive reliefs, but perhaps most importantly of all, is most clear in the case of the *Asklepieia*. Even though archaeological excavations have shed little light on this subject and the Thracian *Asklepieia* appear to have been less organised than the *Asklepieia* known in the Greek world, we cannot ignore the huge influence that they must have had on the local population. The names and professions of the dedicants testify to the acceptance of the healing gods by all social classes, although the majority of the dedicants held public office or possessed greater financial power as a result of their profession. The healing gods appear to have been equally accepted by all sections of the population, regardless of origin, as the inscriptions give

us a mosaic of Thracian, Greek, Roman and Romanised names. Inevitably, this wide distribution leads us to conclude that Asclepius cult was politically promoted.

Summary

Healing Gods: The Cult of Apollo Iatros, Asclepius and Hygieia in the Black Sea Region

The subject of this Master's thesis is the cult of Apollo Iatros, Asclepius and Hygieia in the Black Sea region. The area and the chronological frame encompassed by this study are particularly broad and the material on which it is based is somewhat uneven, chiefly because of the different directions that archaeological research has taken in the various Black Sea countries. As far as the area is concerned, this work initially covers the Greek coastal cities of the Black Sea and, where required, is extended to include the cities of the hinterland, not all of which were founded by the Greeks. This is obvious in the case of Thrace and Lower Moesia, which occupy a large part of this work, as the manifestations of Asclepius and Hygieia's cult in these areas are considered to be unique. As far as the chronological frame is concerned, the work covers a period extending from the first appearance of the cult of Apollo Iatros in the Northern Black Sea region in the 6th century B.C. until the early 4th century A.D., when the remaining sanctuaries of Asclepius fell into decline and were abandoned.

Apollo's cult was particularly prevalent in the Black Sea region because of the Milesian origin of most of the colonies. The cult of Apollo Iatros had also succeeded in establishing itself in several cities in the Northern Black Sea region, such as Olbia, Panticapaeum, Hermonassa, Myrmekion and Phanagoria, and in the Western Black Sea region in Apollonia Pontica, Istros and Tyras. In Olbia, a temple of Apollo Iatros had existed since as early as the second quarter or the middle of the 6th century B.C. and in Panticapaeum There seems to have been a sanctuary of the god on the acropolis already in the Archaic period.

The cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the northern Black Sea region, can be traced back to quite an early date, as there are finds from the 4th c. B.C. The most important centres of the cult were probably Chersonesus, Olbia and Panticapaeum. Additional, in Olbia can be noticed a significant development of the medicine in the late 4th century B.C. and after.

Asclepius' and Hygieia's cult spread throughout the region of Thrace, chiefly during the second and third centuries A.D., as a phenomenon that was particularly associated with local tradition and the influences of Graeco-Roman culture. It is obvious that Asclepius' cult became widespread, notably after Thrace had become a Roman province. This can be seen in the pre-existing cities on the Thracian coast, such as Mesembria and Odessos, the re-established cities, such as Philippopolis, Serdica and Kabyle, and the newly-founded cities, such as Nicopolis ad Istrum and Pautalia. During the same period Asclepius' sanctuaries experienced significant

development in both suburban and rural areas such as Batkun, Slivnitsa, Pernik and Glava Panega. Because of the existence of these rural shrines, we are able to form a relatively clear picture of the organisation, function and development of the sanctuaries and the *Asklepieia*.

List of Plates

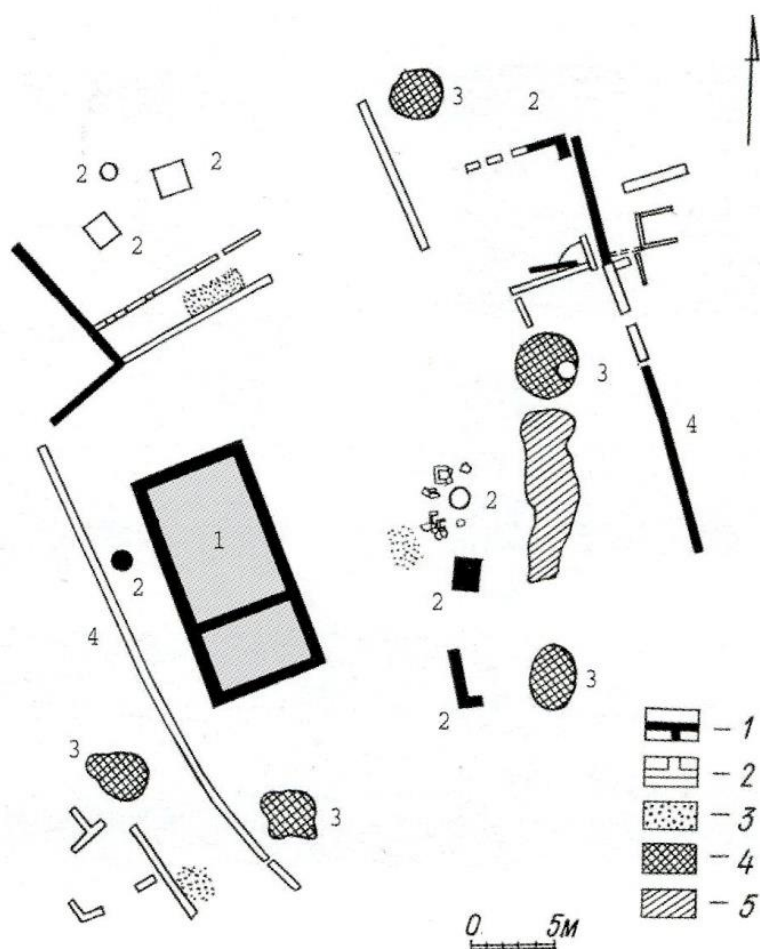
- 1a. Olbia:** The plan of Western Temenos (Kryzickii 1993, Rusajeva 2003)
- 1b. Olbia:** Fragment of a black glazed skyphos with a dedication to Apollo Delphinios, Apollo Iatros and a calendar of the city. (Rusajeva 2003)
- 2a. Panticapaeum:** Reconstructed hypothetical diagram of the façade of the early temple of Apollon on the Acropolis in Panticapaeum of 500-485 B.C. (reproduced from V. P. Tolstikov, Tolstikov 2010).
- 2b. Apollonia Pontica:** Silver coin of the second c. B. C. with Apollo and inscription . (Web)
- 3a. Istros (Histria):** Inscription on a statue base with a dedication to Apollo Iatros. (Wikipedia, lemma Histria)
- 3b. Nymphaeum:** Fragment of black-glazed kantharos with the inscription . (Namoylik 2008)
- 4a. Chersonesus:** Fragment of a vessel with the inscription . (Solomonik 1975)
- 4b. Chersonesus:** bronze coin from the city dated to between 212-222 A.D. bears a depiction of Asclepius (obverse) and Hygieia (reverse).
- 5a. Chersonesus:** The grave stele of the healer Leschanoridas (Zubar, Web Publication)
- 5b. Chersonesus:** The grave stele of the healer Dionysios. (Zubar, Web Publication)
- 5c. Olbia:** The Protogenes Decree. (Nikolaev 2011)
- 6a. Olbia:** Marble head of Asclepius. (IHU Library)
- 6b. Odessos:** View of the Roman *thermae*. (Anna Haralambieva, Roman Baths, brochure)
- 7a. Izvor:** Relief with an offering on the Asclepiusø altar from a worshipper. (Personal Archive)
- 7b. Phillipopolis:** The marble frieze with Asclepius and his family, Asclepiads. (Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv)
- 8a. Batkun:** Marble statue of Asclepius. (Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv)
- 8b. Batkun:** Free standing group statue with representation of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus. (Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv)
- 8c. Batkun:** Marble statue of Telesphorus. (Dontcheva 1996)
- 9a. Varvara:** Plan of the sanctuary. (Oppermann 2006)
- 9b. Varvara:** Cylindrical altar with a dedication to Asclepius. (Danov 1937)
- 10a. Slivnitsa:** Plan of the Sanctuary. (Oppermann 2006)
- 10b. Slivnitsa:** Bronze statuette of Asclepius. (Boteva 1985)
- 11a. Kostinbrod:** Altar with a dedication to Apollo and Asclepius (Dobruski 1907)
- 11b. Carasura (Chirpan):** The relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider, Asclepius and Hygieia. (Archaeological Museum of Plovdiv)
- 12a. Kabyle:** Statue of Asclepius. (Getov 2002)
- 12b. Kabyle:** Statue of Hygieia. (Getov 2002)

- 12c. Dolna Dikanya:** Relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider
- 13a. Pernik:** Plan of the sanctuary. (Oppermann 2006, Boteva 1985))
- 13b. Pernik:** The remains of the sanctuary and the temple. (Web)
- 14a. Pernik:** The masonry of the temple (Web)
- 14b. Pernik:** Votive relief with the depiction of the Thracian Rider and dedication to Asclepius, IGBulg V: 5807. (Boteva 2007)
- 14c. Pautalia:** Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius (Archaeological Museum of Kyustendil)
- 15a. Pautalia:** Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus. (Archaeological Museum of Kyustendil)
- 15b. Pautalia:** Pautalia coin during reign of Caracalla (198-217 A.D) (Web)
- 15c. Marcianopolis:** Vaginal Speculum Gynecological Medical instrument, (Kirova 2002)
- 16a. Tomis:** Statue of Asclepius. (Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009)
- 16b. Tomis:** Statue of the snake Glycon. (Alexandrescu-Vianu 2009)
- 17a. Nicopolis ad Istrum:** Statue of Asclepius. (*Borba*, Official Web Site)
- 17b. Nicopolis ad Istrum:** Bronze coin during the reign of Elagabalus (203-222 A.D.) depicting the rod of Asclepius. (Web)
- 17c. Nicopolis ad Istrum:** Bronze coin during the reign of Gordian III (238-244 A.D.) (State Hermitage Museum Official Web Site).
- 18. Novae:** Plan of the Military Hospital, Valetudinarium (elaborated P. Dyczek and T. Slovik, Dyczek 2005)
- 19. Novae:** Virtual reconstruction of the *Sacellum* of Aesculapius (M. Fudali, Dyczek 1999).
- 20. Glava Panega:** Plan of the sanctuary (Dobruski 1907).
- 21a. Glava Panega:** Statuette of seated Asclepius (Dobruski 1907).
- 21b. Glava Panega:** Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius. (Dobruski 1907)
- 21c. Glava Panega:** Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius. (Personal Archive)
- 22a. Glava Panega:** Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus. (Personal Archive)
- 22b. Glava Panega:** Votive relief with the depiction of Thracian Rider.
- 23a. Glava Panega:** Votive relief with the depiction of Thracian Rider. (Personal Archive)
- 23b. Batkun:** Galloping Asclepius.

List of Maps

1. The Cult of Apollo Iatros in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions.
2. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Northern Black Sea Region.
3. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Southern Black Sea Region.
4. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Thrace.
5. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Eastern Thrace (Propontis).
6. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Lower Moesia.

PLATE 1

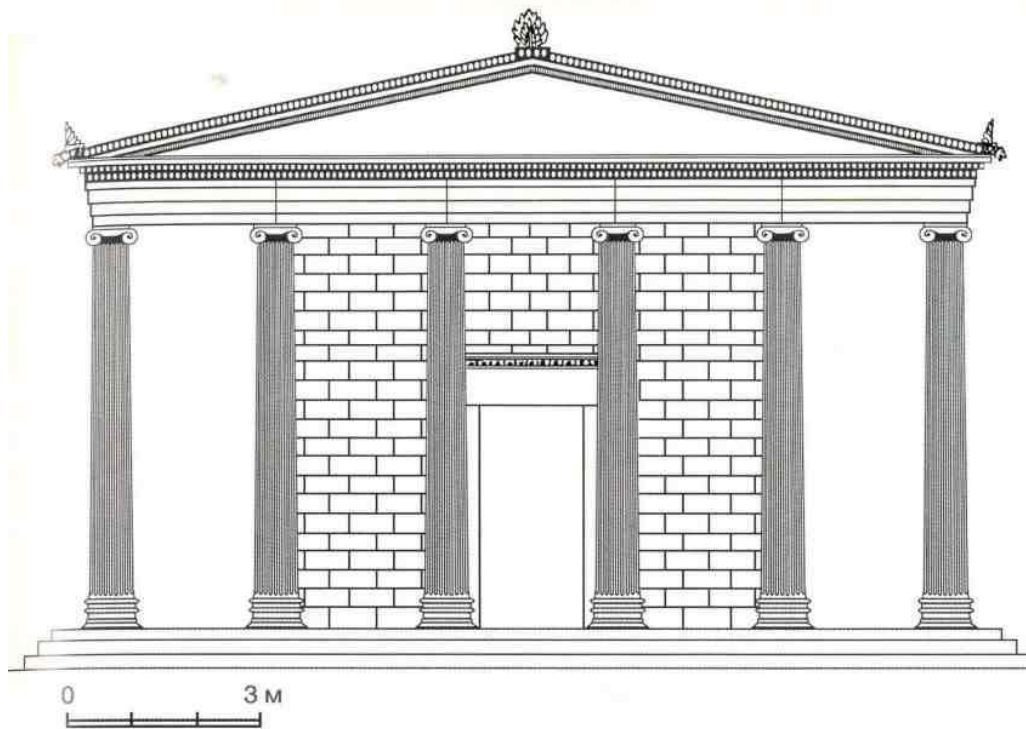


1a. Olbia: The plan of Western Temenos



1b. Olbia: Fragment of a black glazed skyphos with a dedication to Apollo Delphinios, Apollo Iatros and a calendar of the city.

PLATE 2



2a. Panticapaeum: Reconstructed hypothetical diagram of the façade of the early temple of Apollo on the Acropolis in Panticapaeum of 500-485 B.C.



2b. Apollonia Pontica: Silver coin of the second c. B. C. with Apollo and inscription

PLATE 3

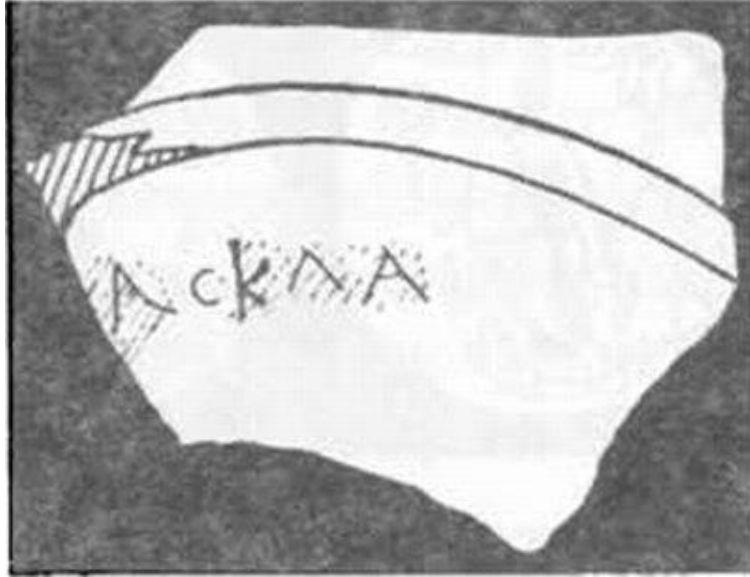


3a. Istros (Histria): Inscription on a statue base with a dedication to Apollo Iatros.



3b. Nymphaeum: Fragment of black-glazed kantharos with the inscription .

PLATE 4



4a. Chersonesus: Fragment of a vessel with the inscription .



4b. Chersonesus: bronze coin from the city dated to between 212-222 A.D. bears a depiction of Asclepius (obverse) and Hygieia (reverse)

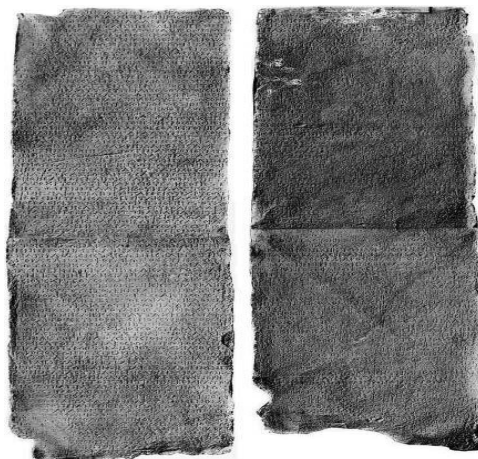
PLATE 5



5a. Chersonesus: The grave stele of the healer Leschanoridas

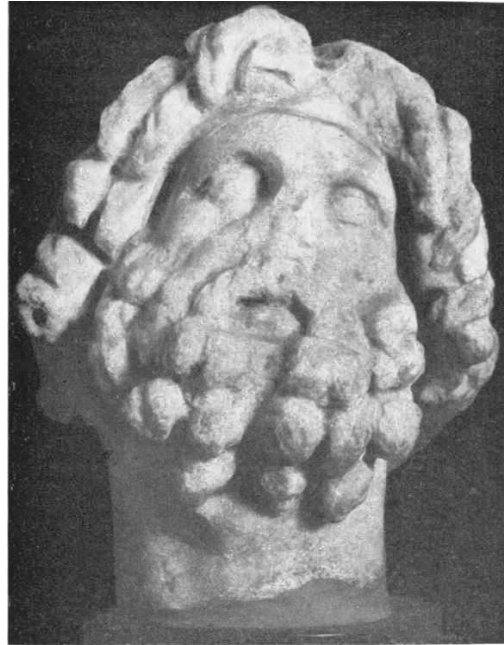


5b. Chersonesus: The grave stele of the healer Dionysios



5c. Olbia: The Protogenes Decree

PLATE 6



6a. Olbia: Marble head of Asclepius



6b. Odessos: View of the Roman *thermae*

PLATE 7



7a. Izvor: Relief with an offering on the Asclepiusø altar from a worshipper



7b. Phillipopolis: The marble frieze with Asclepius and his family, Asclepiads

PLATE 8



8b. Batkun: Free standing group statue with a representation of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus

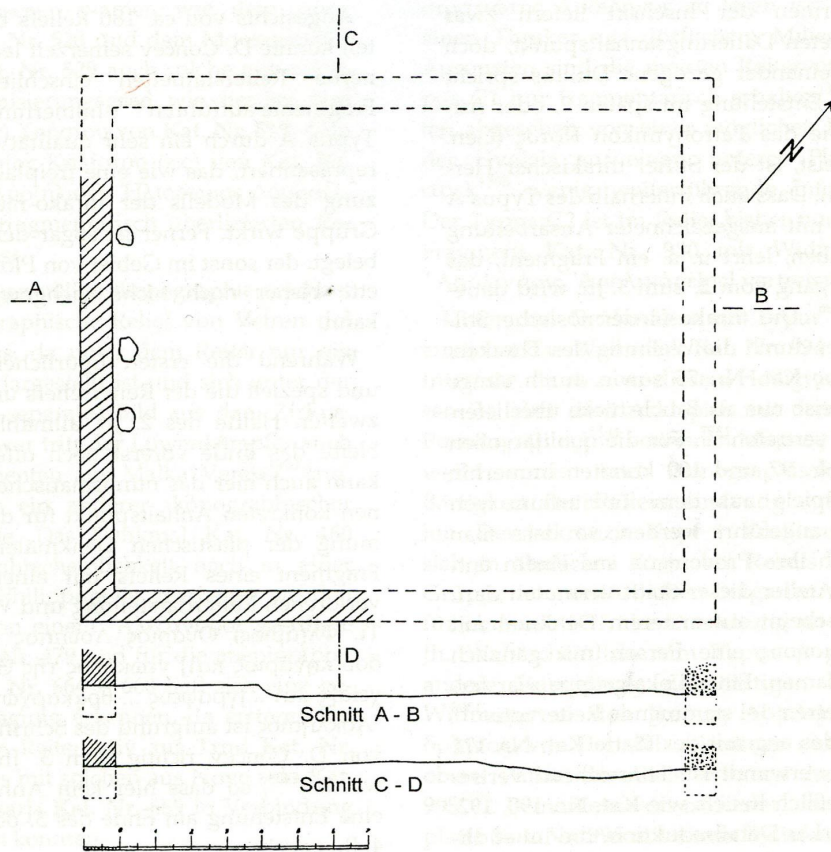


8a. Batkun: Marble statue of Asclepius

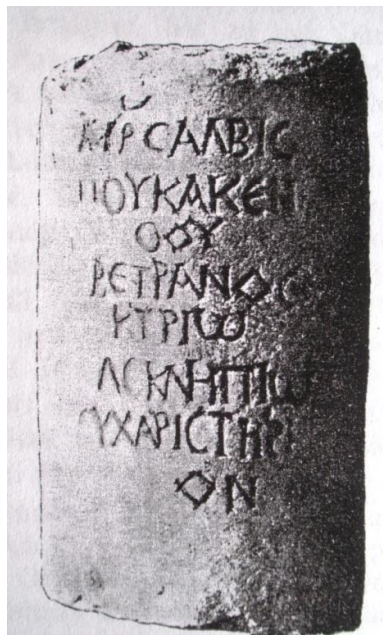


8c. Batkun: Marble statue of Telesphorus

PLATE 9

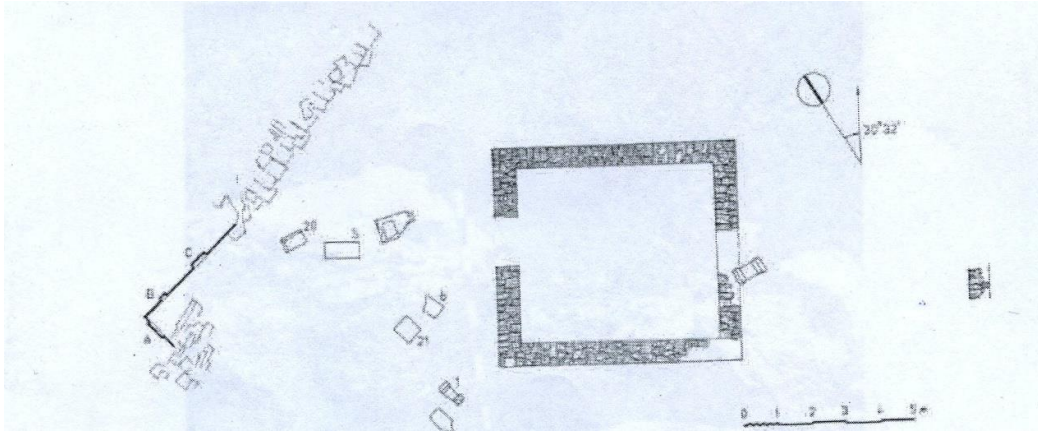


9a. Varvara: Plan of the sanctuary



9b. Varvara: Cylindrical altar with a dedication to Asclepius

PLATE 10



10a. Slivnitsa: Plan of the Sanctuary.



10b. Slivnitsa: Bronze statuette of Asclepius

PLATE 11



11a. **Kostinbrod:** Altar with a dedication to Apollo and Asclepius



11b. **Carasura (Chirpan):** The relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider, Asclepius and Hygieia.

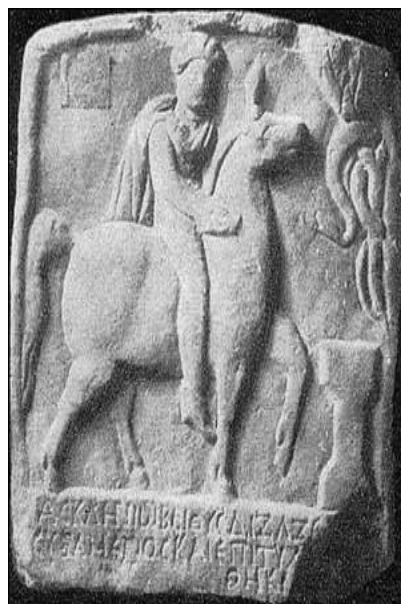
PLATE 12



12a. Kabyle: Statue of Asclepius

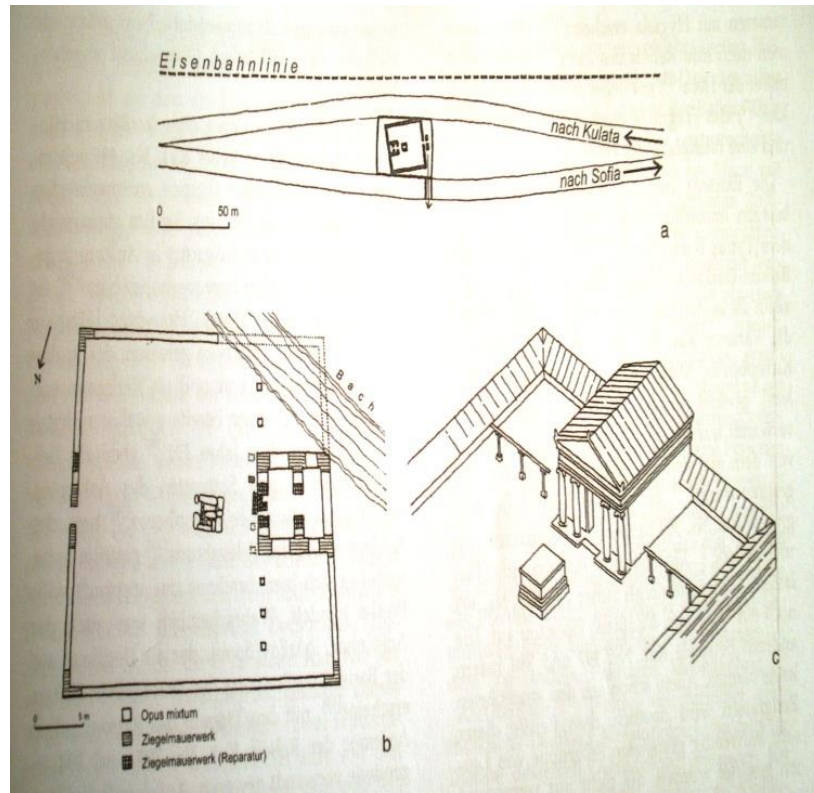


12b. Kabyle: Statue of Hygieia



12c. Dolna Dikanya: relief with a depiction of the Thracian Rider

PLATE 13



13a. Pernik: Plan of the sanctuary.



13b. Pernik: The remains of the sanctuary and the temple.

PLATE 14



14a. Pernik: The masonry of the temple.



14b. Pernik: Votive relief with the depiction of the Thracian Rider and dedication to Asclepius, IGBulg V: 5807.

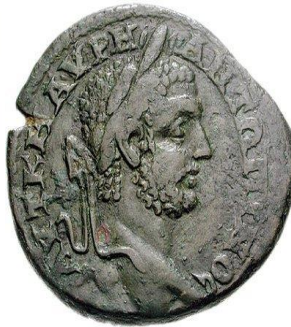


14c. Pautalia: Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius

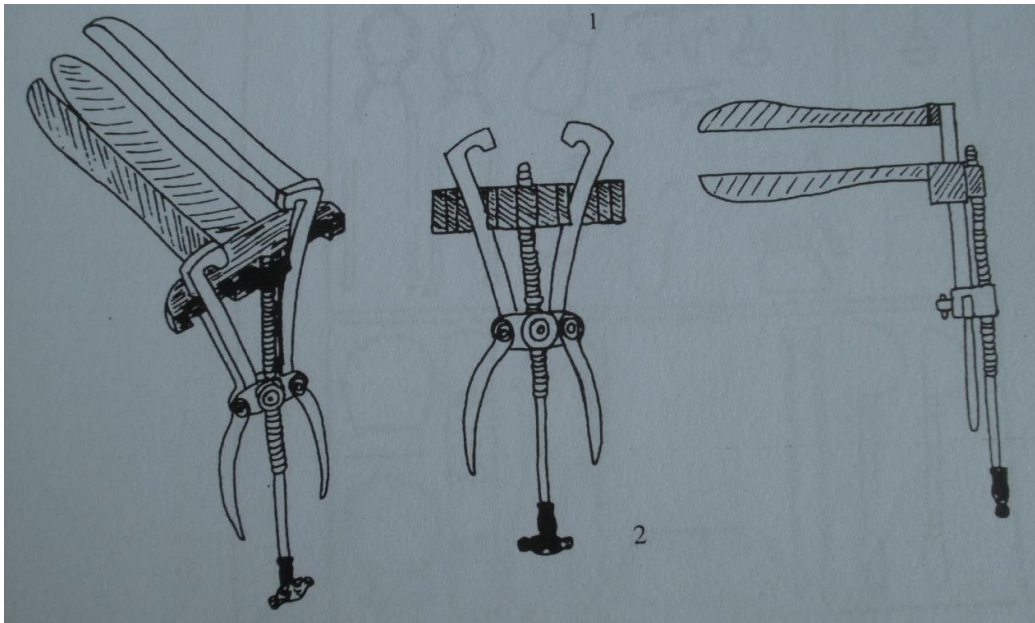
PLATE 15



15a. Pautalia: Votive relief with depiction of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus.



15b. Pautalia: Pautalia coin during reign of Caracalla with depiction of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus.

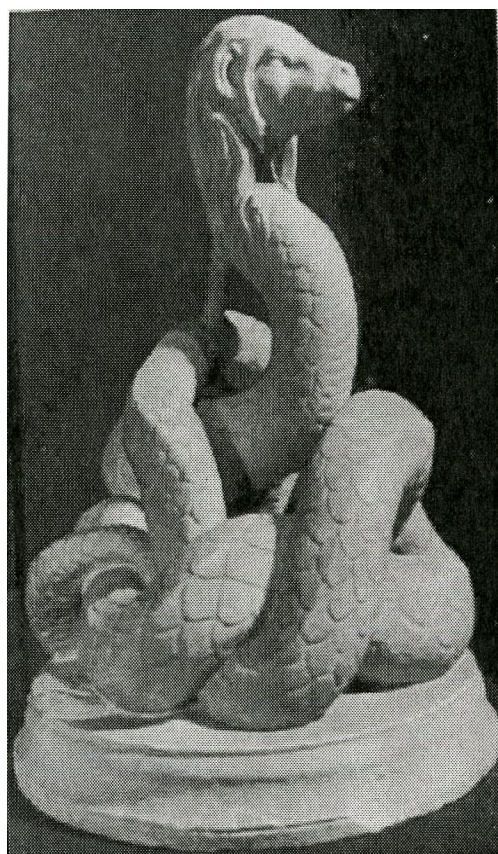


15c. Marcianopolis: Vaginal Speculum Gynecological Medical instrument.

PLATE 16

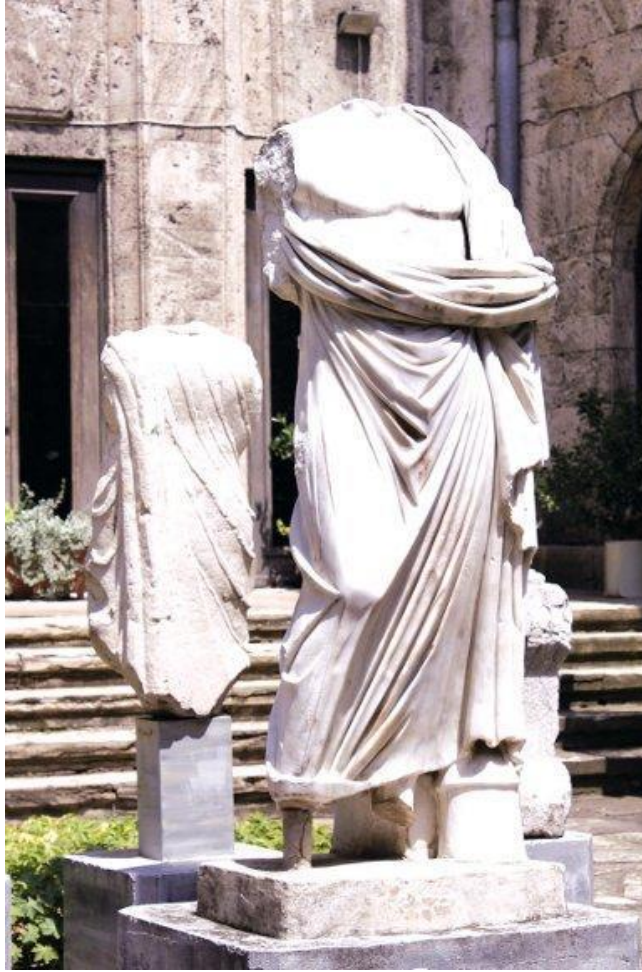


16a. Tomis: Statue of Asclepius.



16b. Tomis: Statue of the snake Glycon.

PLATE 17



17a. Nicopolis ad Istrum: Statue of Asclepius.



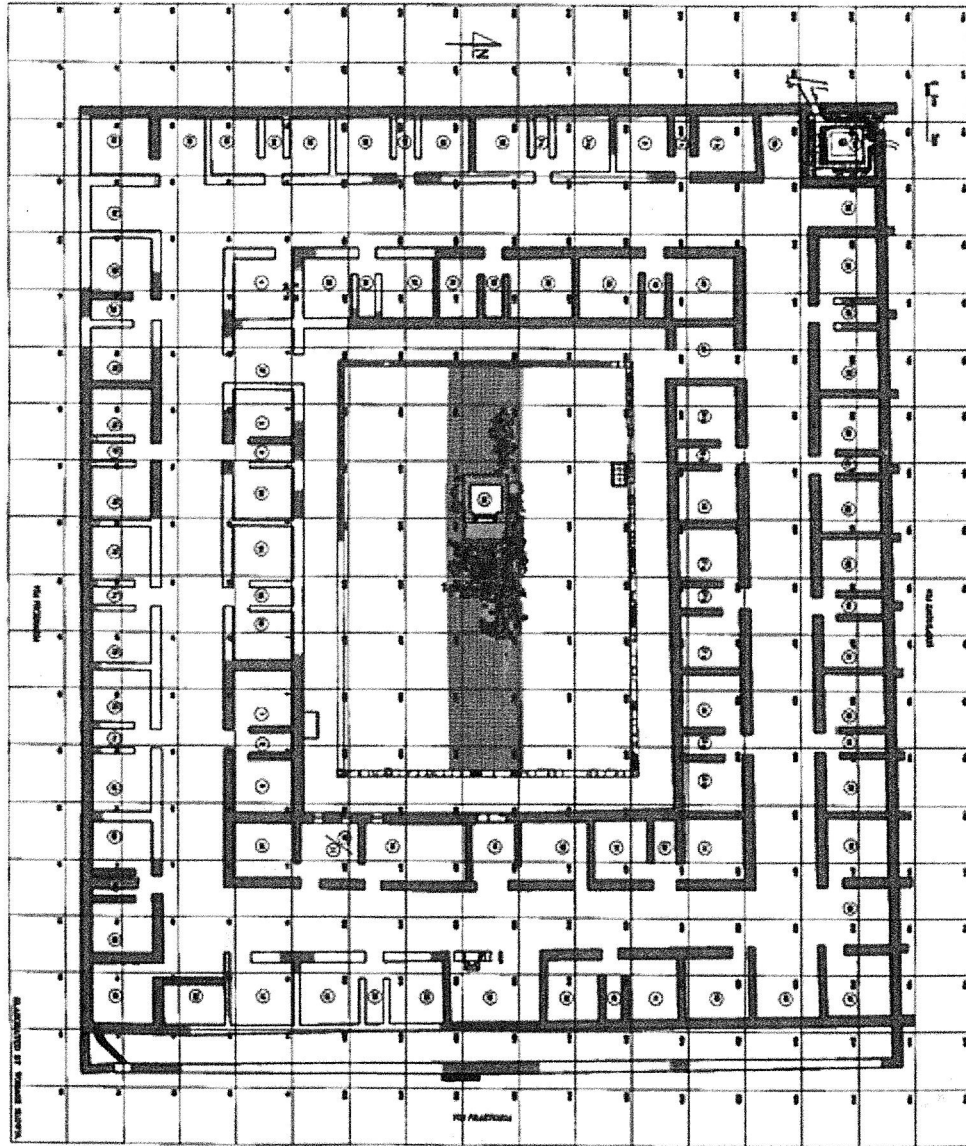
17b. Nicopolis ad Istrum: Bronze
during the reign of Enlagabalus
(203-222 A.D.) depicting the rod of
Asclepius



17c. Nicopolis ad Istrum: Bronze coin
during the reign of Gordian III
(238-244 A.D)

PLATE 18

CENTRE FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH
NOVAE VALETUDINARIUM SECTOR IV 1:100
TRAIANUS - CARACALLA



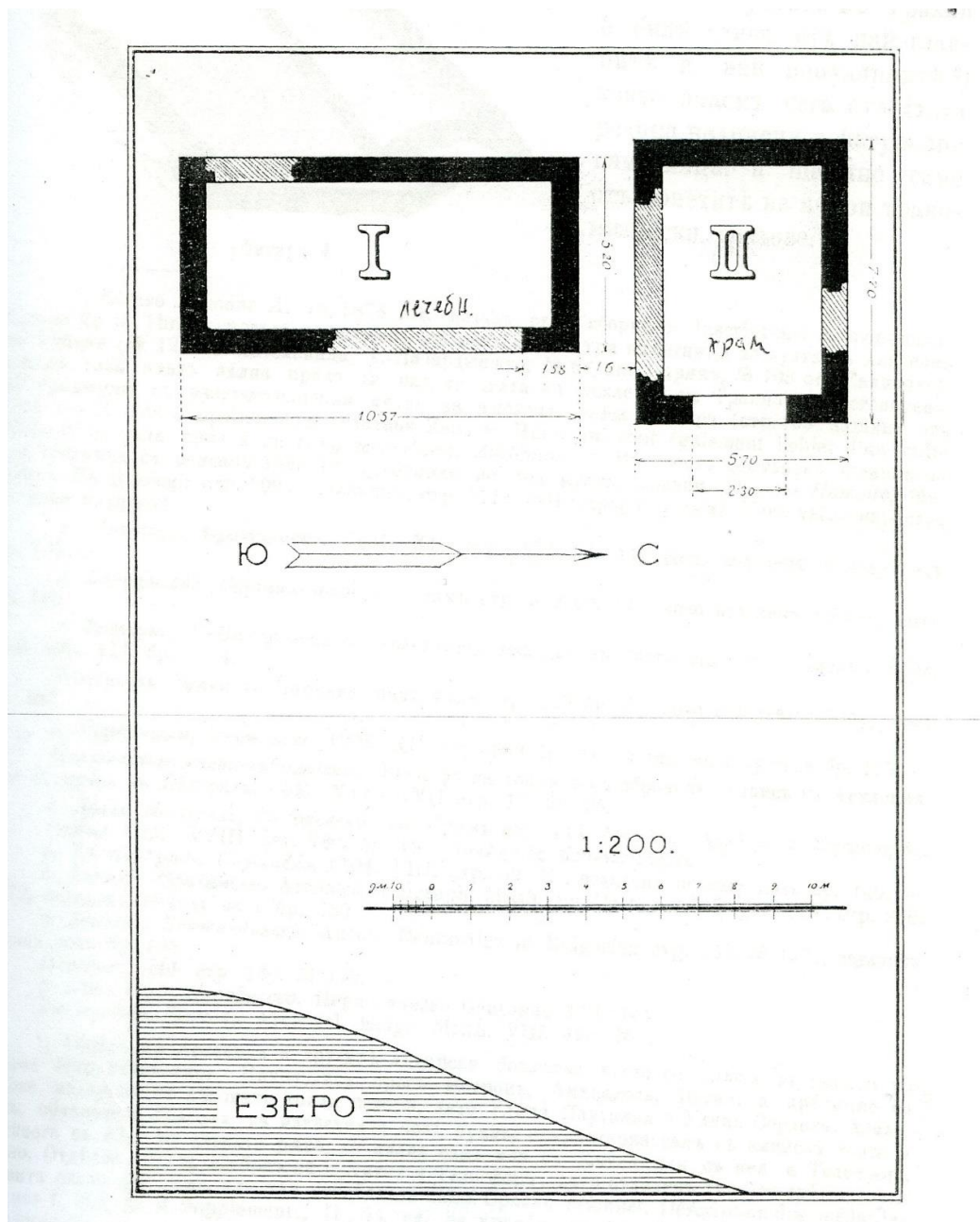
18. Novae: Plan of the Military Hospital, Valetudinarium

PLATE 19



19. Novae: Virtual reconstruction of the *Sacellum* of Aesculapius

PLATE 20

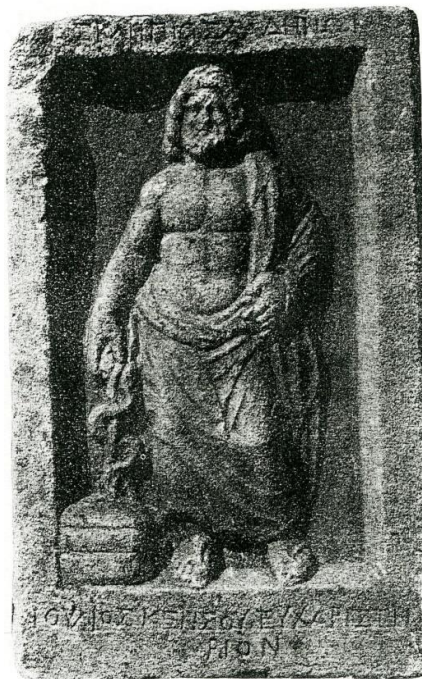


20. Glava Panega: Plan of the sanctuary

PLATE 21



21a. Glava Panega: Statuette of seated Asclepius



21b. Glava Panega: Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius



21c. Glava Panega: Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius.

PLATE 22



22a. Glava Panega: Votive relief with the depiction of Asclepius, Hygieia and Telesphorus.



22b. Glava Panega: Votive relief with the depiction of Thracian Rider.

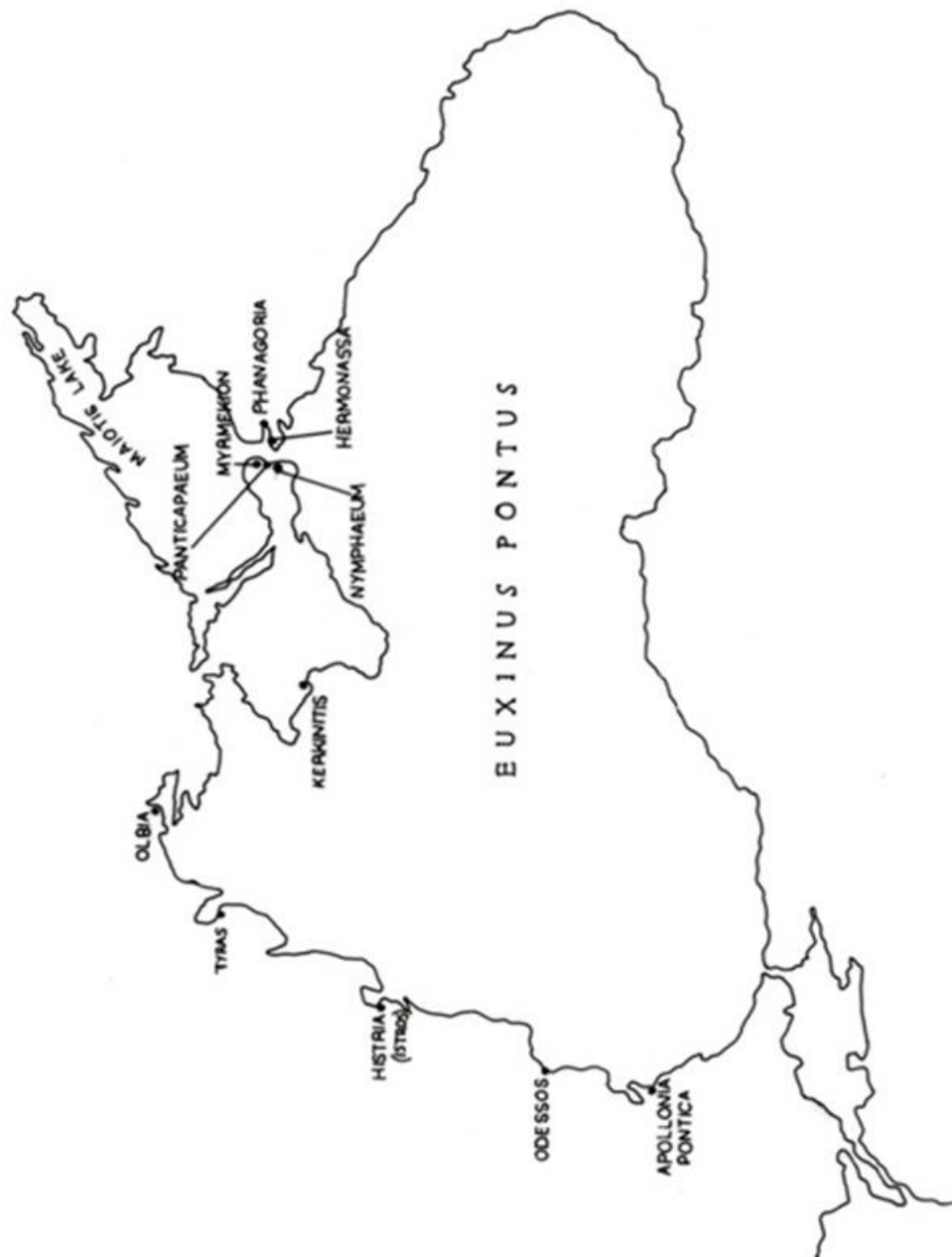
PLATE 23



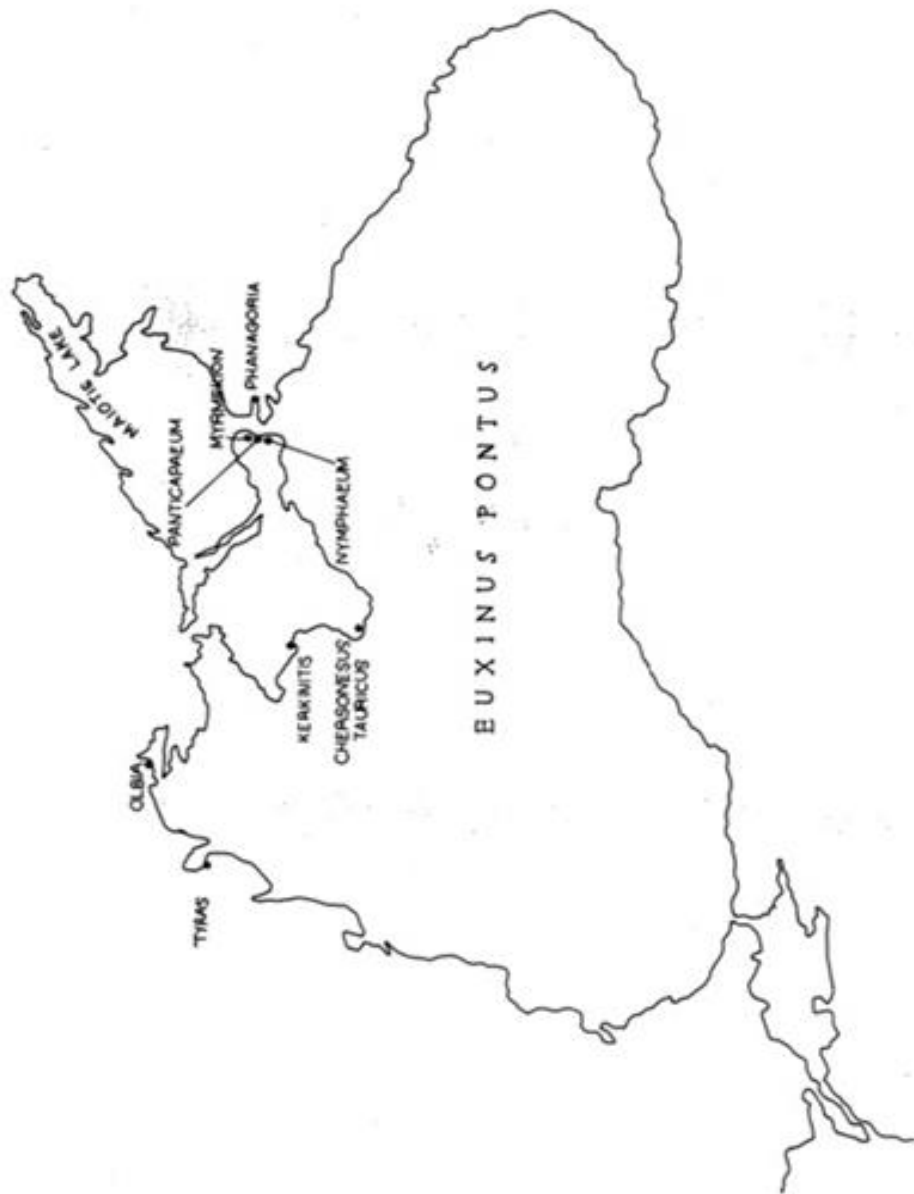
23a. Glava Panega: Votive relief with the depiction of Thracian Rider.



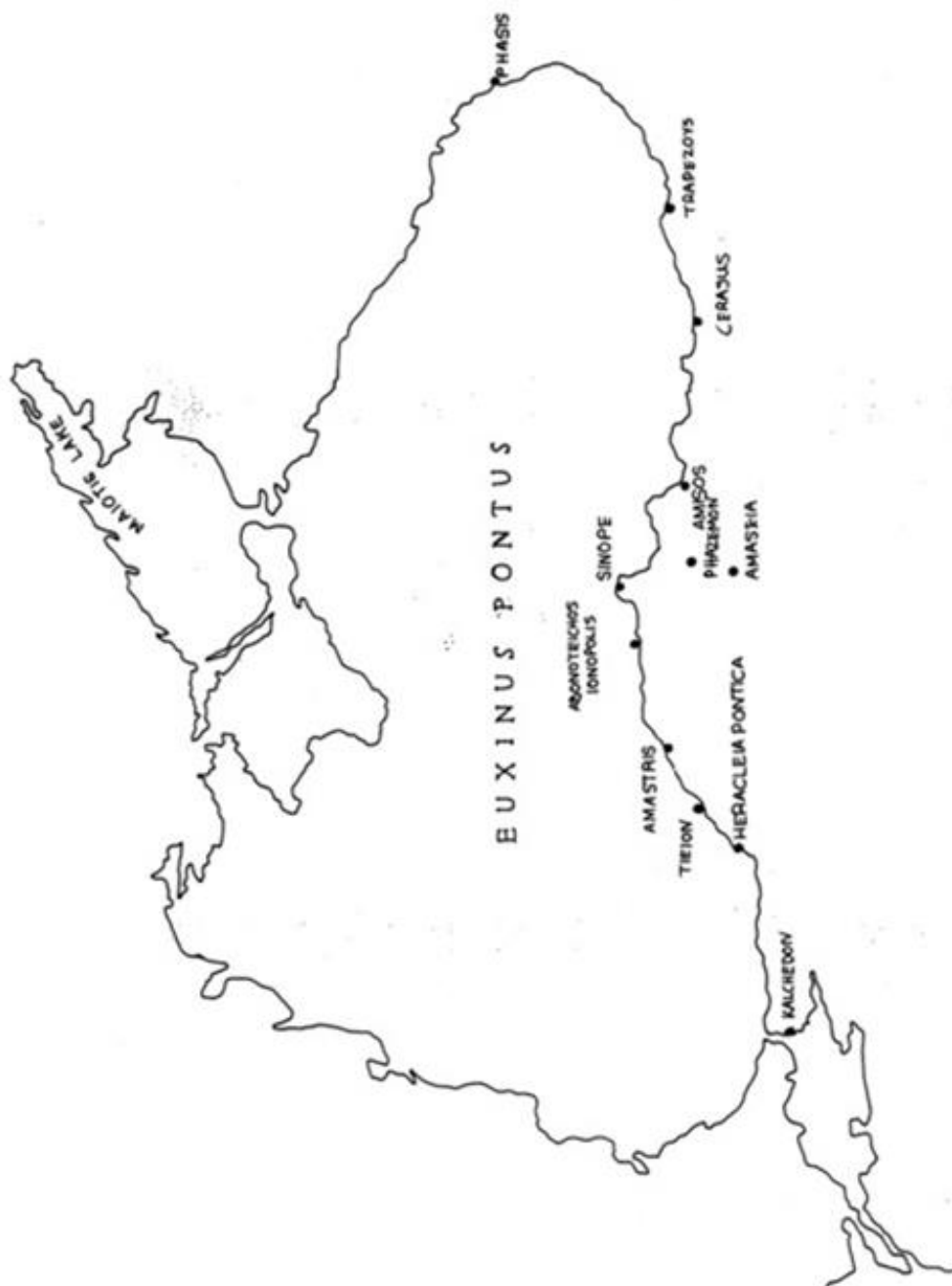
23b. Batkun: Galloping Asclepius.



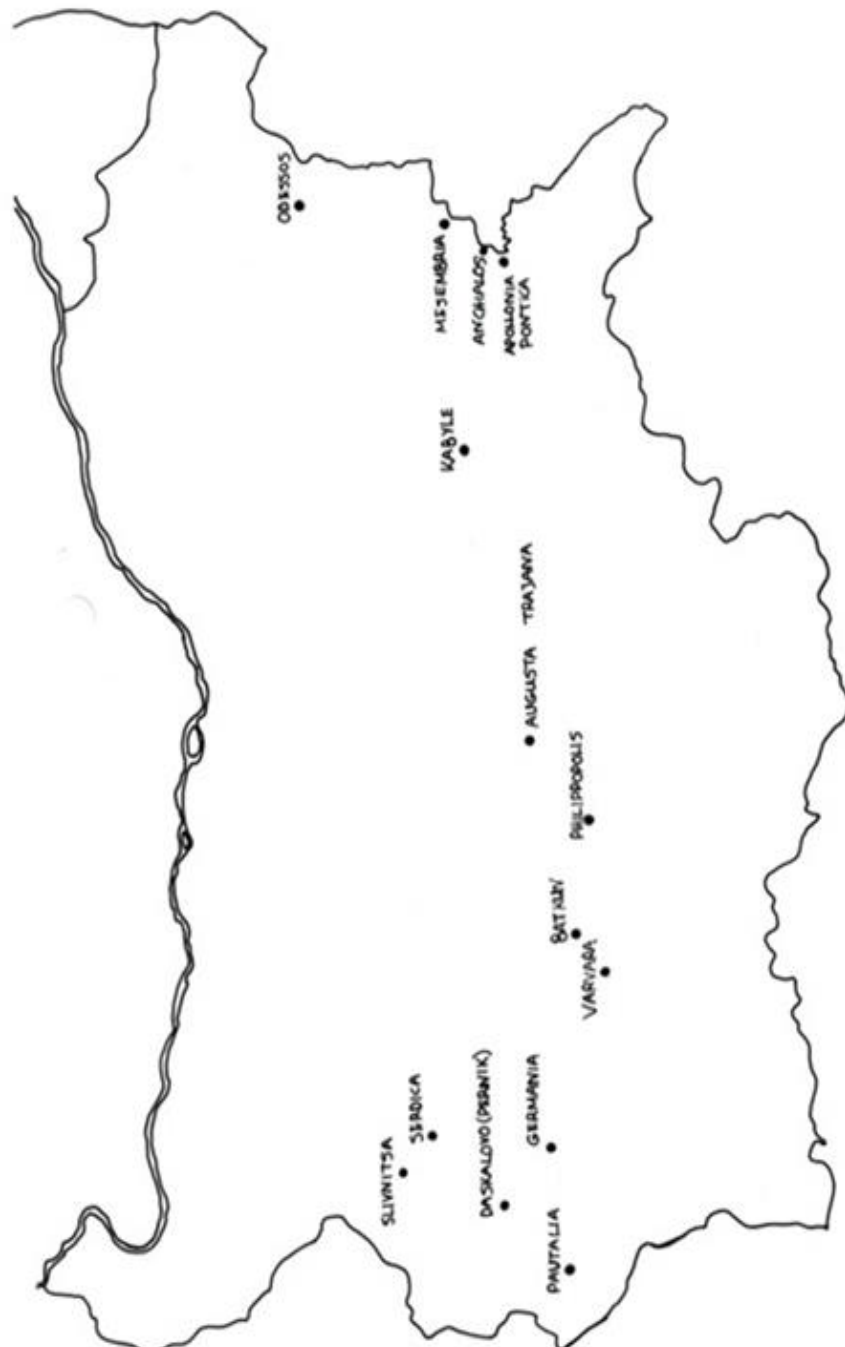
1. The Cult of Apollo Iatros in the Northern and Western Black Sea regions.



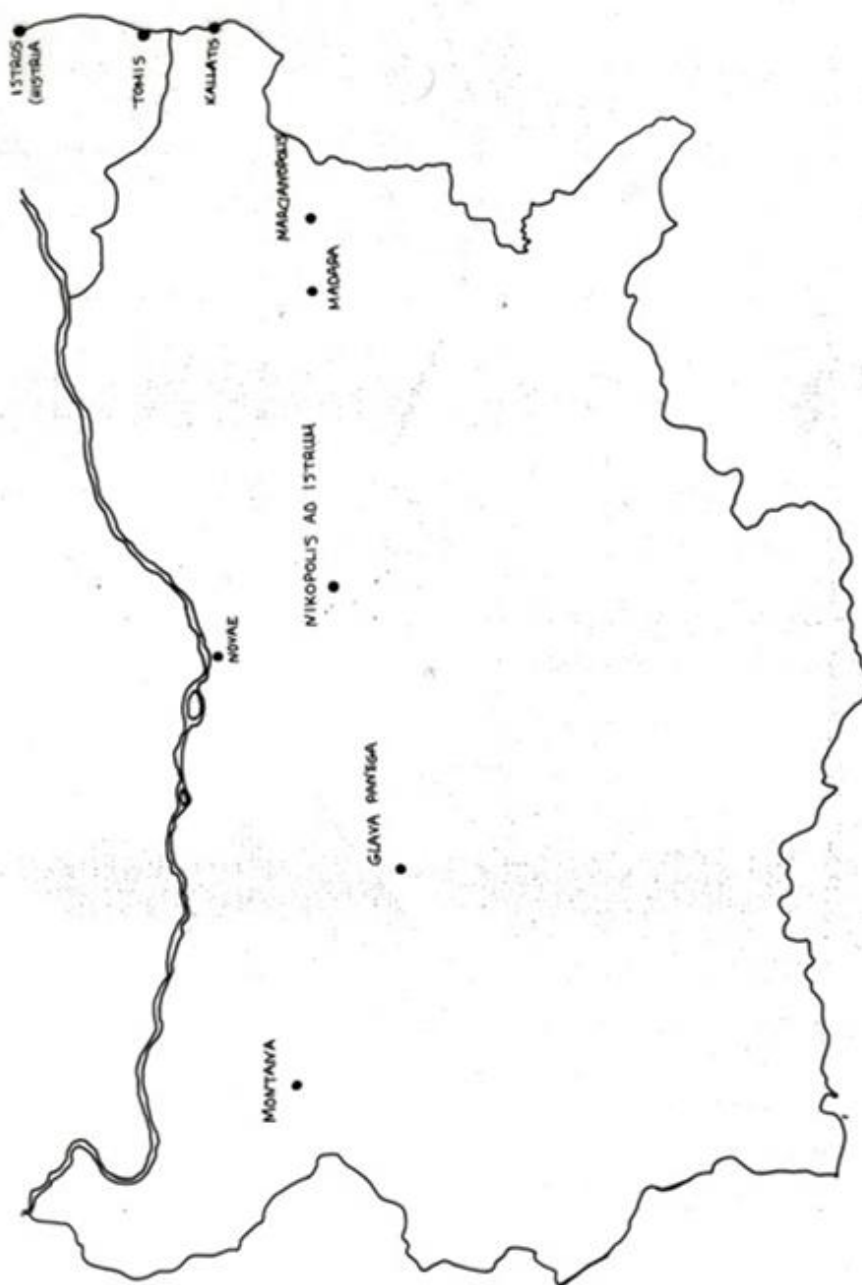
2. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in the Northern Black Sea Region



3. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygeia in the Southern Black Sea Region.



4. The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Thrace.



6 The Cult of Asclepius and Hygieia in Lower Moesia

